HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE

BY

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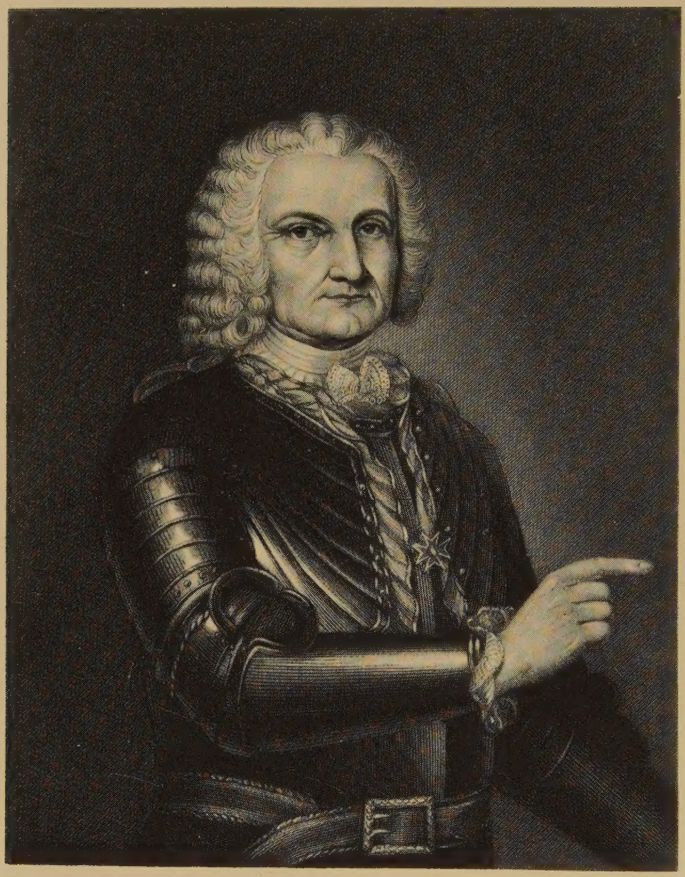

Bienville

GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE

BY

THE REV. P.F.X. DE CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES, BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME VI

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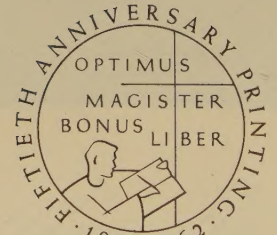

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Yours truly
J B A Ferland Ptre

PREFACE.

To give completeness to this edition of Charlevoix, I have, in the ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA, not only rectified some errors, but have also introduced references to all works on Canadian History published while it was in progress.

Before issuing my last volume, I must also express my deep sense of obligation to the many friends who have aided me in my researches while preparing for and completing it, students in the same field of historical investigation. Among these I would name the Hon. Jacques Viger, the Abbé Faillon, Mr. Faribault, and in an especial manner the Abbé Ferland, who have all passed from amongst us, and the Rev. Father Felix Martin, S. J., the Abbés Laverdiere and Casgrain of Quebec, the Abbé Bois of Maskinonge, Rev. Mr. Daniel of Montreal, Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, Mr. Francis Parkman, the Hon. H. C. Murphy and Mr. George H. Moore, whose services will long, I trust, be given to the cause of History.

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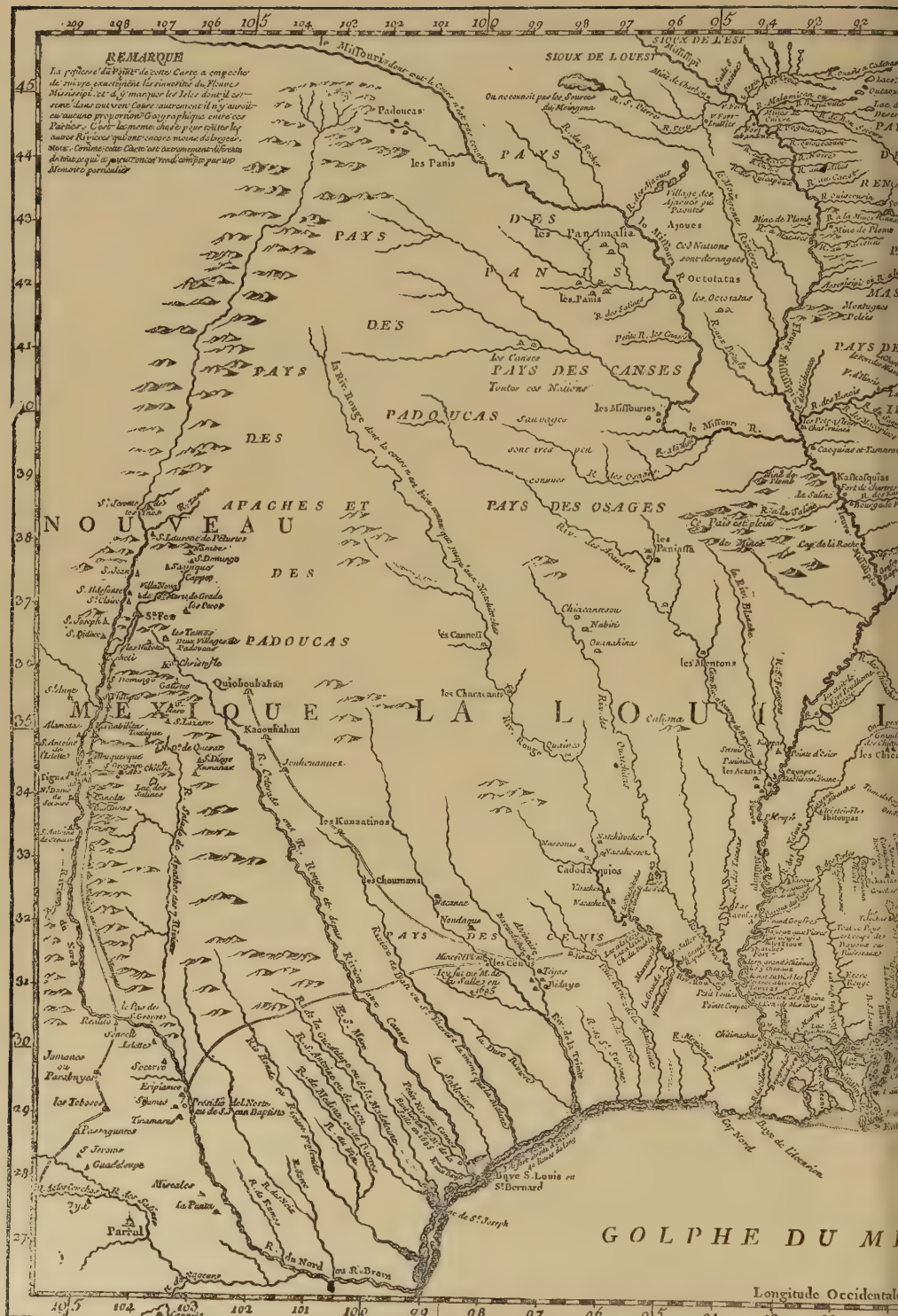
REMARQUE
SIOUX DE L'OUEST
SIOUX DE L'EST
PAYS DES PANIS
PAYS DES CANSES
PADOUCAS
PAYS DES OSAGES
NOUVEAU MEXIQUE
LA LOUISIANE
GOLPHE DU MEXIQUE
Padoucas
les Panis
les Missouries
les Osotatas
les Canses
les Chacatans
les Cannesi
les Mentous
les Panimaha
Kaskaskias
Quioholbahan
Kaouahan
les Kanzatinos
les Choumans
les Cenis
Baye S. Louis ou St Bernard
Parral
Longitude Occidentale

LAC HURON
LAC ONTARIO
LAC ERIE
Pais des Hurons
Iroquois
Chouanons
Cherakis
Les Caouitas
Yuchy
Apalachites
Mauves
Creek
Yamasis
Yamasses
Mocosos
Apalachicola
Apalachucla
Cayes d'Anclote
Mathias
Cap Canaveral
Cap Henri
Cap Fear
Cap Carteret
Charles Town
Pierre de Carruene
Albemarle
Chingetoue
Village de Loups
Village de Loups
Village de Chouanons
Fort Chartres
Fort Toulouse
Fort Rosalie
Fort Prudhomme
Fort Assomption
Fort Conty
Fort Mississipi
Fort Maurepas
Fort Dauphin

BOOK XXI.

1700–25.

Various opinions as to Louysiana.

WHAT often befalls two classes of persons befell Louysiana. The one class, with acknowledged and superior merit, for some inexplicable reason, never succeed in obtaining their due meed of justice, or in displaying their talents, remaining useless and obscure, while possessing every requisite for attaining the highest reputation and rendering the most essential services to the state.

The other class, from the fact that too favorable an opinion was formed of them at first, or an imaginary merit attributed to them instead of a real one, are rejected in spite of solid merit, being compelled to bear the penalty of the hasty judgments formed in regard to them. Unless I am much deceived, my readers will themselves apply this to the province with which I close my History.

We have seen that the Spaniards under Ferdinand de Soto had, at great expense, attempted to settle Florida; that their commander spent the whole last year of his life in exploring both banks of the Micissipi, called by his historian, Garcilaso de la Vega, the Cucagua; that neither he nor his successor, Moscoso, took any steps to found a colony; and that, for a long time after, men seemed to be ignorant in Spain that one of the greatest rivers in the world ran through Florida, watering a delightful country, with a healthy and temperate climate, the possession of which would secure to the Catholic King all the Gulf of Mexico.

The French, after discovering all the known course of this same river, seemed to pay scarcely any greater atten-

1700–25. tion to the advantages to be derived from it; nearly thirty years glided by in this indifference; at last the proximity to the mines of New Mexico, and those published as having been discovered in Louysiana itself, having aroused our nation from this lethargy, the kingdom in less than three years sent out more men, money and material to found a settlement in that part of America, than had left France for any one of our colonies in the New World since the days of Francis I.

But when it was evident that this country produced neither gold nor silver, and that it was not easy to make the wealth, which New Spain possessed within it, flow in Louysiana, the province suddenly fell under general censure: no one regarded the fertility of the soil, or the productions it would yield with moderate toil, nor the importance of establishing a naval station on the Gulf of Mexico. The treasures brought from France disappeared; men died of want, although they had all requisite to live in opulence, or else they dispersed on all sides, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

Condition of Louysiana in 1700.

When d'Iberville left it, in April, 1700, Louysiana had no French settlements except those of some Canadians, in Illinois, a fort near the mouth of the Micissipi, which lasted only till 1705, and another at Biloxi on the sea shore. Mr. de Sauvole commanded in this latter, which was the headquarters. The former had been intrusted by d'Iberville to his brother de Bienville and the Sieur Juchereau de St. Denys,[1] his wife's uncle, a man much esteemed by the Indians, and a fluent speaker of the languages of several nations. He had also, on parting, given orders to his kinsman, le Sueur, to proceed to the Sioux country

[1] Louis Juchereau de St. Denys, whom Mr. Daniel, (Nos Gloires, i., p. 207,) supposes to have been called Barbara, was a son of Nicholas Juchereau, Sieur de St. Denys. According to the recent work of the Abbé Tanguay, Dictionnaire Généalogique, p. 328, he was born at Quebec, Sept. 18, 1676. The exact time of his death I have not ascertained. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 178, refers to his manuscripts, but they are not now known, and elsewhere the latter author speaks of the grief of the Indians at his death. Ib., p. 301–2.

with twenty men, establish a post there and take possession of a copper-mine, which le Sueur had discovered.[1] 1700.

This detachment started towards the end of April, (1700,)[2] ascended the Micissipi to St. Anthony's Falls, entered St. Peter's River,[3] forty leagues up which they found another river emptying on the left, and which has been called Rivière Verte, (Green River,)[4] because earth falling from the mine gives it that color. Le Sueur could sail up this river only about a league, finding it covered with floating ice, although it was only the end of September. This compelled him to throw up at that spot a kind of fort[5] to pass the winter, which proved extremely severe, and lasted till the beginning of April. Copper-mine among the Sioux.

The writer who gives an account of this voyage, states a circumstance which is worthy of notice. He says that having run out of provisions, they made up for it by hunting buffaloes; that to preserve the flesh of these animals, they quartered them, and for want of salt, left them in the air, where they soon spoiled; that at first they found it very hard to accustom themselves to this food, which gave them all diarrhœas and fevers, with such a loathing for it, Remarkable observation.

[1] There are two accounts of Le Sueur's Voyage, that in Penicaut, Annale Veritable, ch. ii., § 2, here followed by Charlevoix, and that in Bénard de la Harpe, Journal Historique, pp. 38–70; Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, pp. 87–112.

Le Sueur was a Canadian and a kinsman of d'Iberville. In 1693 he was at Chegoimegon, maintaining peace between the Chippewas and the Sioux. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 570. He built a fort in the west in 1695. In 1697 he was in France and got permission to work mines he had discovered, but on his way to Canada was captured by the English. On recovering his liberty, he sailed to Canada with a new commission, but meeting difficulties, went back, and in 1699 proceeded to Louysiana. After his voyage up to Minnesota, he returned to France in 1702. Some years after, while again on his way to Louisiana, he died at sea. La Harpe, p. 21. Early Voyages up, &c., pp. 89–91.

[2] Le Sueur arrived in Louisiana on Dec. 7th, 1699, with 30 miners.

[3] Sept. 19th. La Harpe, p. 52. Early Voyages, p. 91.

[4] Penicaut, ch. ii., § 2. La Harpe says Rivière Bleue, as Charlevoix does in his Journal, p. 397. It is now called Blue Earth River, or Mankato; see Owen's Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, p. 486.

[5] At 44° 13′ N. La Harpe, p 53. Early Voyages, p. 101. It was one league up the river, on a point of land.

1700. that they could not even bear the smell; but their stomach gradually became so adapted to it, that at the end of six weeks there was not one among them who did not eat ten pounds a day and drink four bowls of soup; that far from being affected by it, they became quite fat, and not one was sick.[1]

Description of the mine.

As soon as April came, le Sueur proceeded to the mine, which was only two miles and a quarter distant, and in twenty-two days he got out thirty thousand pounds of ore; he picked out four thousand of what seemed richest and sent it to France. The spot worked by him is at the beginning of a mountain which is ten leagues long, and all apparently of the same character. It is on the bank of the river, does not produce a single tree, and is constantly enveloped in mists, even in the finest weather. The soil where the ore is extracted is green, and you can scratch the copper with a knife; but you must first take off a kind of crust as hard as rock, black and burned like coal by the vapor issuing from the ore. Many rather interesting incidents, too long to detail here, but still more, want of funds prevented le Sueur from pushing this enterprise.[2]

Settlement of Maubile and Isle Dauphine.

The next year d'Iberville made a third voyage to Louysiana, and began a post on Maubile River. He even laid the foundations of a fort to which de Bienville, (who became commandant on de Sauvole's death,) soon after transferred all that there was at Biloxi, abandoning the latter post.[3] In 1702 d'Iberville returned for the fourth time and erected on Massacre Island storehouses and barracks, because as that island had a port, it was much easier to land goods brought from France there, than to send them on sloops to Fort Maubile.[4] It was at this time

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[1] Penicaut, ch. ii.

[2] Ib., ch. iii., § 1. La Harpe makes him bring down 2,000 quintals of blue and green earth, p. 38.

[3] D'Iberville with de Serigny arrived in Dec., 1701, in the Renommée, 50, and Palmier, 44, and a brigantine. He put in at Pensacola and sent orders to Bienville to evacuate Biloxi and begin a post at Mobile. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 37. The new fort was completed by March, 1702. Ib. p. 71. D'Iberville sailed back in June, 1702. Penicaut, ch. 4.

[4] The port was closed by the sea before 1718. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 38. Bénard de la Harpe says nothing of Iberville's voyage in

1700–25.

also, that the island received the name of Dauphin Island.[1] It was gradually settled, and some years after, a fort was built there with larger storehouses, so that it became insensibly the head-quarters of the colony.[2]

Slow progress of the colony.

The settlers depended for subsistence on what came from France and what could be obtained from the Indians. They quarrelled and then made peace with some tribes; many Indians were induced to settle in the neighborhood of Maubile, where they cleared quite a large tract, and always lived harmoniously with the whites. Others, like the Apalaches, came there of their own accord, preferring the French to the Spaniards, among whom they had long been settled; but these last excepted, to whom for a time a missionary was assigned, no more suitable steps were taken to gain the Indians of these parts to Christ, than were adopted to give a solid foundation to the French colony.[3]

1702; although Pénicaut states it, ch. 4, § i., but he is somewhat confused, making Sauvolle die after the departure of d'Iberville and le Sueur, (April, 1702. La Harpe, p. 70–2,) while Bénard de la Harpe says he died Aug. 22, 1701.

A memoir of d'Iberville in 1702, Archives de la Marine, Louisiane, Portef. ix., gives his reasons for the founding of Mobile. The population of the place was 139. Sauvolle left a Journal from May 3, 1699, to Aug. 1701, which Mr. French has published in his Louisiana Hist. Coll., iii., pp. 223–240.

[1] Pénicaut, ch. 4. Isle Surgère at the same time took the name of Ship Island.

[2] Settlers removed to the island from Mobile in 1707. Pénicaut, ch. 9; and Gravier in 1708 mentions the fort as projected, Letter, p. 17. It was built in 1709 by Capt. La Vigne Voisin. Pénicaut.

[3] The Apalaches were a tribe from Florida, among whom the Spanish missionaries had labored successfully. They were all Christians, and the chiefs could read and write. Exposed, however, to the English and Alibamas, they retired to Mobile in the latter part of 1705. Bienville gave them lands and seed. A Rev. Mr. Huet became their pastor. Penicaut, ch. 7, § 6. Father Gravier in 1708 says, however, that this clergyman, whom he calls Huré, had not then learned the language. Lettre sur les Affaires de la Louisiane, p. 8. The missions founded by the Seminary of Quebec among the Tonicas, Natchez, Taensas, Alibamons &c., had not been very successful. Two missionaries, Rev. Messrs. St. Cosme and Foucault were killed, and others withdrew, Rev. Mr. Davion being the last, and he finally abandoned the Tonicas about 1716. The Jesuit Father Limoge labored for a time among the Oumas. See Shea, Catholic Missions, 439–44, also Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, pp. 45–86.

1710–25. Indeed, there could scarcely be said to be a colony in Louysiana, or at least it did not begin to take shape till the arrival of Diron d'Artaguette as Commissaire Ordonnateur in 1708. This magistrate's first care was to enable the settlers to cultivate the soil, which seemed quite fertile along Maubile River, so that they might not be obliged to wander about, living by hunting or with the Indians whenever the ships from France were late in bringing provisions, as it happened on several occasions.[1]

Arrival of a Commissaire Ordonnateur.

But success did not crown his hopes. Around Maubile there is only a mere surface of good soil, and moreover, wheat can never ripen there well on account of the fogs, which produce rust. They made up for this for some time by raising tobacco, which succeeded better.[2] D'Artaguette, in a letter dated January 10th, 1711, says that Maubile tobacco was esteemed above the Virginian.

He added that in the month of September of the preceding year, an English corsair had ravaged Dauphin Island, plundered and burned the houses and stores, wreaked unparalleled cruelties on the people to force them to tell where they had hidden their money, and that the damage done to the King and to individuals amounted to eighty thousand francs,[3] whence he concluded that it was absolutely necessary to fortify the island. The Commissaire reasoned well according to the prevailing idea, which was to plant the

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[1] The Aigle, Capt. de Noyant, arrived Feb., 1707, to find them hunting or living on the Indians; yet brought over many families to settle, and implements, as well as two priests, de la Vente and la Maire. D'Artaguette arrived 10th Feb., 1708. Pénicaut, ch. 10. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 106.

In 1704, Lousiana, including the garrison, contained 180 men, comprising 27 families, occupying 80 houses and 190 acres of cleared land. Document, Archives de la Marine, Portef. 1, No. 40. Twenty girls of good character, selected by the Bishop of Quebec, were sent out in 1704. Gayarré, Hist. de la Louisiane, i., p. 76.

[2] The first fort at Mobile was on a site so badly selected that it was overflowed in 1709, and a new fort was erected and occupied the next year. Pénicaut, ch. 11, 12.

[3] Bénard de la Harpe, p. 107, says this Jamaica corsair landed 60 men, and did damage to the extent of 50,000 livres, but says nothing of the cruelties. Lediard details the operations of Commodore Littleton's squadron at Jamaica in 1709 and 1710, but is silent as to this attack, probably the act of a privateer.

colony away from the Micissipi River, because Isle Dauphin was the only port where ships could unload, but from what had occurred, it would have been a much wiser conclusion that the best course would be to transfer settlers and storehouses to the Micissipi, as they were subsequently obliged to do.[1] 1712-25.

D'Artaguette returned to France the same year, and gave the court a great deal of light as to Louysiana. Some years before, de Muys, major of the forces in Canada, and heretofore mentioned, had been appointed Governor of Louysiana, but that officer dying on the way, the King appointed as his successor the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac,[2] and in the instructions given him it was stated, that the King, having deemed proper to grant to the Sieur Crozat the monopoly of the Louysiana trade for sixteen years, with an absolute right in perpetuity to him and his heirs in the mines, veins and minerals, discovered and worked on the conditions laid down in his Letters Patent, the King wished the Governor to examine on the arrival of every one of said Sieur Crozat's ships, whether the condition of carrying out six unmarried young men or women by each ship was complied with.[3] Louysiana ceded to Crozat.

The King added that the Sieur d'Artaguette, commissaire in said country, having returned to France, he had selected the Sieur Duclos[4] to perform the duties of Commissaire Ordonnateur; that as there was as yet no judicial officer in Louysiana, and it was at present impos- Establishment of a Superior Council,

[1] For dispatches of Bienville, Boisbriant, La Salle, see Gayarré, Hist. de la Louisiane, i., p. 77–82.

[2] Gravier, Lettre sur la Louisiane, p. 7. Nicholas Daneaux de Muy, Knight of St. Louis and Captain, born at Beauvais in 1651, married Margaret Boucher in 1676. He served at Chambly, in Frontenac's Onondaga expedition, and in Newfoundland. He came out in the Renommée, (Gravier, Lettre, 1708,) to examine charges against Bienville, and if necessary send him as a prisoner to France. Gayarré, Hist. de la Louisiane, i., p. 82. He died however, at Havana. As to la Motte Cadillac, see ante iv., p. 264; v., p. 160, &c. His Louisiana administration showed him as unfit as he had been at Detroit. He was appointed Governor of Louisiana, May 6, 1710.

[3] See Letters Patent to Crozat, dated Sept. 14, 1712. French Louisiana Hist. Collections, iii., p. 38, n. These say ten men or women.

[4] Louisiana Hist. Coll., iii., p. 66, 80.

1712-25. sible to create judges there as in other colonies, the population being so small, he had nevertheless deemed it best to establish a Superior Council there for three years, to judge all matters, civil and criminal; to compose this council, he selected the Governor and Commissaire Ordonnateur jointly, and one clerk; that by their conduct in discharging the judicial powers vested in them, he would decide either to continue and increase the powers of the Council or abandon it.[1]

The Spaniards refuse to allow trade between Louysiana and Mexico.

Meanwhile, de Crozat had recommended de la Motte Cadillac, whom he had made a partner in his trade, to send detachments towards the Illinois to discover mines; and towards the Spaniards of Old and New Mexico, to open trade with those two provinces. I have spoken in my Journal[2] at length on the former of these two enterprises, which kept all France in suspense for several years, and at last came to nothing.

Nor was the second more successful. Scarcely had La Motte Cadillac landed at Dauphin Island,[3] before he dispatched the ship that had brought him to Vera Cruz; but this voyage was useless. Mr. de la Jonchere[4] who commanded the vessel, could not obtain the Viceroy's permission to sell his cargo; the Viceroy presented him some cattle and provisions that he needed, and then required him to set sail at once.[5] The Governor hoped to succeed better in a second attempt made overland with the same

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[1] This Council was permanently established in 1716. *Charlevoix.*

[2] Journal, p. 393. In 1719 de Lochon was sent to the Marameg to work a supposed silver-mine; he got some poor lead, and in disgust returned to France. The Western Company then sent one Antonio, a Spanish prisoner, who pretended to find silver. The matter was then taken by La Renaudiere, and a brigade of royal miners, who failed utterly. In June, 1721, Renaud, acting for a private company, found a vein of lead two feet thick. Ib.

[3] He came early in 1712 in the Baron de la Fosse, a 40 gun vessel, Capt. de la Jonquière. Pénicaut, ch. xiv., § 1. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 110.

[4] Pénicaut and Bénard de la Harpe write de la Jonquière. An officer of the same name, James Peter de Tafanell, Marquis de la Jonquière, was Governor of Canada from 1747 to 1752, N. Y. Col. Doc., x., p. 250.

[5] The Spaniards acted thus to please the English, to whom they had granted the Assiento Company

view, but it met with about the same result as the former.[1] 1712-25.

This expedition he confided to the Sieur de St. Denys,[2] and it could not have been placed in better hands. The Governor gave him ten thousand francs' worth of goods, and agreed with him that they were to be stored among the Natchitoches, an Indian tribe on Red River, with whom de Bienville and this same Saint Denys had formed an alliance in 1701, and of which some members had, within a few years, settled on the Micissipi, near the Colapissas. Overland expedition of de St. Denis to Mexico.

Saint Denys, deeming it expedient to take these Natchitoches with him, proposed it through Pénicaut, a ship-carpenter. This man had accompanied le Sueur to his copper-mine: he had made several other excursions on the Micissipi, and understood almost all the Indian languages of Louysiana. He himself had brought the Natchitoches to the Colapissas, and had no difficulty in persuading them to return to their former abode with de Saint Denys.

But the Colapissas, who had received them with great humanity, and who had found them not useless, were so offended to see them depart without even any apology, that they pursued them, killed seventeen, and carried off a great many of their women and children. The rest escaped through the woods and reached de Saint Denys, who was awaiting them at Biloxi. He set out with them, and passing through the village of the Tonicas, induced the chief of that nation to follow him with fifteen of his best hunters.[3]

On arriving at the village of the Natchitoches, situated on an island in Red River, forty leagues from its mouth

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by the treaty of March 26, 1713. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 113.

[1] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 13.

[2] St. Denys styles himself, in a declaration made at Mexico June 22, 1715, Captain of Fort St. Jean, near Mobile, though he makes it really 40 leagues from that place.

[3] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 14, § 1. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 116, says he set out Aug. 23, 1714, with 30 Canadians, or rather, 24. Declaracion de Don Luis de San Denis, Mexico, June 22, 1715. Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane, i., p. 10, says the expedition was induced by a letter from the Recollect Father Ydalgo, asking aid to establish a mission among the Asinais, but he evidently confounds the expedition itself with the service he rendered as subsequently stated.

1712-25. on the Micissipi,[1] he built some houses for the Frenchmen whom he intended to station there ; he induced some other Indians to join the Natchitoches, assuring them that he would never forsake them, and he distributed among both, agricultural implements and seed to sow. He then selected twelve of the Frenchmen whom he had brought along, and some Indians, and leaving Red River, which is not navigable above the Island of the Natchitoches, took his route westward.

After twenty days' march he reached the Assinais,[2] neighbors of the Cenis, if they are not the Cenis themselves,[3] and quite near the spot where de la Sale was killed. But the fact is, that these Indians did not recollect to have ever before seen Frenchmen, or know any other Europeans than some Spaniards, who went naked like themselves and lived miserably. The Assinais gave de Saint Denys guides, and he travelled one hundred and fifty leagues further to the southwest, before reaching the first Spanish settlements.

At last he found, on the banks of a great river, a fort which bore the name of San Juan Bautista, and Presidio del Norte. He was well received by the commandant, Don Pedro de Vilescas,[4] who took him to his quarters, as well as Medard Jallot, his valet de chambre, surgeon, and Pénicaut, and assigned lodgings for the rest of his party. After some days' rest, Saint Denys began negotiations with Don Pedro ; he told him that he came in behalf of the Governor of Louysiana to propose opening a regulated trade with that colony, under such conditions as he should propose.

The Spanish commandant replied that he could do noth-

[1] The Declaracion makes it 40 leagues from Mobile to Fort St. Jean, 40 leagues from that to Red River, and then 80 leagues to Natchitoches.

[2] The Declaracion makes it 40 leagues.

[3] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. xiv., § 4-5. The Assinais are the Cenis. See ante vol. iv., p. 78. Bénard de la Harpe says he reached the Assinais Nov. 15.

[4] Charlevoix here follows Pénicaut. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 129 and le Page du Pratz, ii., p. 12, call him Captain Don Diego Raimond. He was really Don Domingo Ramon.

ing without the permission of the Governor of Caouis,[1] his immediate superior, to whom he at once dispatched an express to receive his orders. Caouis is sixty leagues from Presidio del Norte on the route to Mexico. The Governor, having read Vilescas' letter, sent twenty-five horsemen for Saint Denys, and after examining his passport, told him that it was necessary for him to go and see the Viceroy at Mexico. Saint Denys agreed, but did not set out till the next year with Jallot, and on starting from Caouis, wrote to the French whom he had left at Presidio del Norte to return to Natchitoches.[2] 1710–25.

He is imprisoned at Mexico

It is two hundred and fifty leagues from Caouis to Mexico; Saint Denys made the journey guided by an officer and escorted by twenty-four horsemen. On reaching the capital of New Spain,[3] he was taken before the Viceroy, to whom he presented his passport. The Viceroy read and returned it, and without listening to him even, sent him to prison. There he remained three months, and would perhaps have never recovered his liberty, if some French officers, who were in the service of the Catholic King, who knew d'Iberville intimately, and knew also that Saint Denys was uncle to d'Iberville's wife, had not interceded in his behalf.[4]

His adventures. He refuses to enter the Spanish service.

He was then released; the Viceroy even gave him three hundred dollars and a commodious lodging, and often invited him to his table. The more he knew Saint Denys, the more he esteemed him; at last he spared no effort to induce him to give up service in a poor colony for that of New Spain. He told him that several of his countrymen had already set him the example and found no reason to repent. Some of these officers even pressed him earnestly to follow the course they had adopted, and in which they found complete satisfaction.

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[1] Pénicaut writes Caouïl—meaning Coahuila.

[2] Pénicaut was sent back. Relation ch. xiv., § 4–5.

[3] He arrived June 25, 1715. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 129. Le Page du Pratz, § i., p. 14, says 5th. F. de Alencastre, Noroña y Silva, Duque de Linares, was viceroy 1711–6.

[4] Declaracion de Don Luis de San Denis y Don Medar Jallot, naturales de la Nueva Francia, taken before Gerardo Mora, Mexico, June 22, 1715, MS.

1710–25. Saint Denys held no rank in Louysiana, serving only as a volunteer; here he was offered a company in the cavalry, an offer to tempt a Canadian officer without means; he refused it, however, and in spite of all they could say, adhered to his refusal. The Viceroy told him that he was already half a Spaniard, as he sought the hand of the daughter of Don Pedro de Vilescas, and was to marry her on his return to Fort San Juan.

Saint Denys replied: "I cannot dissemble, since your excellency is informed that I love that lady, but I had not indulged the hope of winning her as my wife." "You will obtain it," said the Viceroy, "if you accept the offer I have made, and I give you two months to consider it." At the end of that time he sounded him again, and finding him inflexible, dismissed him, placing in his hands a purse of a thousand dollars, saying that it was for his wedding expenses. "I hope," he added, "that Doña Maria will be more fortunate than myself in persuading you to remain in New Spain. As for establishing trade with Louysiana, which you have come so far to solicit, it is not possible for me to grant it to you."

He renders a service to the Spaniards.

The next day he sent him a very fine bay horse from his stables, and had him escorted [1] to Caouis by an officer and two mounted men. There he found Jallot awaiting him, his surgical skill having won him very great respect in the country. They proceeded to the quarters of Don Pedro de Vilescas,[2] whom they found in great perplexity. That commandant had just learned that the whole population of four Indian towns, exasperated at the oppression of the Spaniards at Presidio del Norte, had just set out to emigrate elsewhere, and he feared to be held responsible for this desertion, which, moreover, reduced his fort to great extremity, as the garrison owed its subsistence almost entirely to these very Indians.

On imparting his troubles to de Saint Denys, the latter offered to go to the Indians, confident that he could recall

[1] He left Mexico Oct. 26, 1715. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 130.

[2] Don Domingo Ramon, according to better authority.

them. Don Pedro embraced him, but warned him of the great risk of going alone; Saint Denys replied that he felt no fear, and at once with Jallot mounted his horse. He soon overtook the Indians, whose baggage, men [1] and children rendered the march very slow. As soon as he perceived them at a distance, he put his handkerchief on a rod as a flag, then advanced towards the chiefs, who awaited his approach. 1712-25.

He showed them, using the Spanish language, to what dangers they would be exposed by venturing among tribes that they did not know, but whom he knew to be very unsociable and cruel. He then told them that if they would return to their former abode, he would guarantee, in the name of the commandant, that no Spaniard should ever set foot in their villages unless they approved it, and that in the future they should have only reason to praise the officers and soldiers.

They yielded to his arguments, and Don Pedro was no less surprised than delighted to see his guest return with all the Indians, whose flight would undoubtedly have proved his ruin. He instantly ratified all the promises made by Saint Denys, and they returned to their towns, which the Spaniards were forbidden to enter under pain of death, unless by express permission.[2]

His marriage with a Spanish lady.

After this great service, Saint Denys had no difficulty in inducing Vilescas to give him his daughter in marriage, and the wedding was celebrated with all the Spanish pomp and magnificence that the place permitted. The newly-married pair remained there together six months, when Saint Denys thought that he should no longer delay in returning to report to de la Motte Cadillac the result of

[1] This should apparently be women.

[2] Domingo Ramon, Derrotero para las Misiones, July 22, 1716, says he sent out St. Denis, with his (Ramon's) son, June 26, 1716, to the Texas or Asinais Indians, with whom St. Denis had great influence. That he brought in 25 Indians, mostly chiefs, and by embracing the missionaries, made them regard the Spaniards favorably. The chacuano or calumet was then smoked. Bonilla, in his Compendio de los sucesos ocurridos en Tejas desde su Conquista hasta Noviembre de 1772, § 8, also relates this and calls St. Denys "a man worthy of eternal memory."

1712-25. his mission. He set out for Maubile with Don Juan de Vilescas, his wife's uncle, leaving her with child and promising to return as soon as possible for her.[1]

The English endeavor to debauch our Indians.

During the whole course of these negotiations and adventures, the Governor of Louysiana had sent the Sieur de la Loire to the Natchez, with goods to establish storehouses. There he found Englishmen from Carolina, come to induce these Indians, with the Yazous and Chicachas[2] to declare war on other nations, so as to bring in captives, and it was all carried out. They were even suspected of intriguing against us, and la Loire soon after received orders to arrest their officer, who had remained alone among the Natchez.

He obeyed, and the officer was taken to Maubile, where Mr. de Bienville, who commanded there in the absence of Mr. de la Motte Cadillac, regaled him well for three days, after which he permitted him to return. He took his route by Pensacola, where the governor, Don Guzman, also gave him a cordial welcome ; but while endeavoring to reach Carolina through the Alibamons, he fell in with a hunting band of Tomez Indians, who tomahawked him. What then roused these Indians against the English, does not appear, but most of them suddenly rose against them.

Irruption of the Indians into Carolina.

They had a warehouse in a Tchactas (Choctaw) village, which these Indians plundered, murdering all who had charge of it. This was but the commencement of their misfortunes : no sooner was it known among the other na-

[1] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 17, § 2. He reached Mobile Aug. 25, 1716. Barcia, in his Ensayo Cronologico, makes only an incidental allusion to Saint Denis and his visit, (p. 312, 2,) although he has much relating to Louisiana. Dumont, Memoires Historiques, ii., p. 65, alludes to it briefly. Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane, i., p. 15–6, makes St. Denis help to establish the Spaniards among the Asinais. Father Morfi, in his Memorias, para la historia de la Provincia de Texas, p. 101, says that Don Domingo Ramon set out Oct. 1, 1715, with a party of twelve missionaries, whom he mentions as friends of St. Denis. They founded six missions among the Natchez, Bidaes, Nazones, Nacogdoches, Ays and Adaes. Compare Espinosa, El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante, pp. 251–4; Bonilla, Compendio de los sucesos ocuridos en Tejas desde su conquista hasta Noviembre de 1772, MS; Domingo Ramon, Derrotero para las Misiones, 22 July, 1716, MS.

[2] Yazoos and Chickasaws.

tions what had occurred among the Choctaws, than the Alibamons and several other tribes, with whom we had been almost always at war, formed a league and made an incursion into Carolina, ravaging several settlements and carrying off a number of prisoners, whom they took to Maubile. Bienville ransomed them from the Indians and provided for their support till he found a favorable opportunity to send them home without any risk.[1]

La Motte forms an alliance with several tribes.

De la Motte Cadillac had gone up to the Illinois, and on his return to Maubile, it was announced that a silver mine had been discovered in the country whence he came.[2] I have explained in my journal the whole affair of these pretended discoveries, which so deluded the French, though much more in Europe than in America. There was more reality in a deputation which the Governor received on his arrival at Maubile. A chief highly esteemed in the country, came in to form an alliance with him in the name of several tribes, and at the same time the Alibamons, hitherto our most declared enemies, offered to introduce the French into their village and erect a fort at their own expense. Their offer was accepted, the fort built, and Captain de la Tour took possession with two lieutenants and some soldiers.[3]

Treachery of the Natchez.

Meanwhile, it was perceived that the Natchez were plotting some treachery; they killed four Frenchmen [4] who were travelling with some of their tribe, and prepared to

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[1] Richebourg, who came in Aug., 1713, in his Memoire sur la premiere guerre des Natchez, (French, La., iii., p. 241,) does not make any English traders killed. See Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 325, 329.

[2] Renaud, sent in 1719, extracted silver from Illinois lead ore in 1722. Bénard de la Harpe, Memoire, p. 366. Louisiana Hist. Coll., iii., p. 116, n. Dumont, Memoires, ii., p. 73.

[3] Adair, American Indians, p. 159, makes this "mischievous French garrison Alebamah," 40 leagues below Coosa. See Gayarré, i., p. 113. On p. 117, &c., he gives a memoir of the Abbé de la Vente, on the religious condition of Louisiana.

[4] Richebourg, Memoire, p. 242, and the Relation de la Louisianne, (Voyages au Nord, p. 21,) says that the refusal of the calumet by the governor on his way to Illinois, made them imagine he was about to destroy them, and Richebourg ascribes all the trouble to the self-will of Cadillac.

1713-25. do the same to the Messieurs de la Loire, the elder of whom had set out for the Illinois with another party of these savages, while the younger remained in their great village. But one of those who accompanied the former, warned him to be on his guard. He immediately spoke to all the others in private, and without revealing the name of his informant, he promised them a great reward, and gave them his word to keep their secret if they acknowledged the truth.

The Messrs. de la Loire escape.

All declared that at a point six leagues further on, where they would have to run close by the shore to avoid a very dangerous whirlpool, a party of one hundred and fifty of their tribe, armed with muskets, were lying in wait for them, commanded by a chief named le Barbu, and that he would infallibly be slain there. This avowal of eight men, all stating the same thing, induced la Loire to turn back; but as he had every reason to believe that there was a general conspiracy among the Natchez, he was filled with anxiety in regard to his brother.

Penicaut, who accompanied him, offered to rescue him from the great village of the Natchez, and adopted these steps to effect his design. The whole party having arrived about an hour and a half before nightfall at the Natchez landing, Penicaut went ashore alone, telling la Loire to wait for him till midnight, and that if he did not appear by that time, to give him up for dead; in which case his only course would be to push on. He then advanced towards the cabin of the younger la Loire, which was a league distant, carrying only his gun, powder-flask and a few balls.

As he approached the village, some Natchez, who perceived him, ran to tell la Loire that a Frenchman was coming; he came out to see who it was, and recognizing Pénicaut, asked tidings of his brother and the reason of his coming. Penicaut told him that he had fallen sick; but once in his cabin, he told him to send for the Great Chief of the Natchez, who came at once. Penicaut told him that six of the eight Natchez who had started with the Sieur de la Loire and him, to go to the Illinois, hav-

ing fallen ill, they had been forced to turn back; that they were all at the landing, and he begged him to send thirty Indians early in the morning to unload the canoe and transport the goods to the warehouse. 1713-25.

This the Great Chief promised, and he added that Mr. de la Loire had done well to go no further, as he had been very anxious about him on account of the Yazoos, a treacherous tribe, hostile to the French. Penicaut made no reply, and manifested absolute confidence in the chief; but when the latter retired, he informed la Loire of the motive of his coming, and showed him that he must think only of escaping, and that there was not a moment to lose. This was no easy matter, la Loire told him, as three Indians slept in his room; but Penicaut reassured him, and was sanguine of success.

When it was really night, they lay down, and the Indians first fell asleep; Pénicaut would have stabbed them, but la Loire prevented him, thinking it not easy to kill three men before one of them might have a chance to cry out. Penicaut then gently opened the door and let out la Loire, who had taken the precaution of loading his gun. A few minutes later he glided out himself, double locked the room on the outside and ran after his companion, whom he soon overtook. As they approached the landing, they met the elder la Loire, who had begun to be alarmed; they embarked at once, and dismissed the eight Natchez after liberally rewarding them.[1]

The chief of the Tonicas refuses to enter their plot.

About ten o'clock in the morning they reached the Tonicas, and while they were there, they saw three Natchez arrive, whom the Great Chief, furious at the escape of the la Loires, sent to the chief of the Tonicas, to induce him to massacre all the French who were in his village. The Tonica, who was an upright man, a sincere friend of the French, was indignant at such a proposal.[2] He would have tomahawked the man who dared make it,

[1] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 16, § 2–3.

[2] Richebourg represents the Tonicas as having accepted presents from the Natchez, p. 242.

1713-25. as his sole answer, had he not been restrained by Mr. Davion, who was a missionary in his village.

Mr. de Bienville sent to demand satisfaction.

The Messrs. de la Loire continued their journey, and reached Maubile, where all were surprised to see them back, and still more to learn the reason of their return. Mr. de la Motte Cadillac thought that this treachery of the Natchez should not be allowed to go unpunished, and raised a party of a hundred men, soldiers and settlers, under the command of Mr. de Bienville, King's-lieutenant, with whom he associated Mr. de Pailloux, major in the army, Captain de Richebourg, Lieutenant du Tisné and the two brothers who had just escaped from the Natchez.[1] As they passed before the Bay of the Tonicas, they noticed a bag hanging from the branch of a tree on the river side, and in this bag they found a letter from Mr. Davion, who, ascertaining that they would pass by there without stopping, informed them that a Frenchman named Richard, on his way from the Illinois, had been taken by the Natchez; that these savages, after plundering him of all his goods, had taken him to their village, cut off his feet and hands, and cast him, still living, into a mudhole.[2]

They encamp at the Tonicas.

Up to this time, Mr. de Bienville had imagined that the Messrs. de la Loire had been seized with a mere panic; the perusal of this letter disabused him. He did not

1716. even deem himself strong enough to march direct upon the Natchez; he entered the Bay of the Tonicas, built a fort, and sent du Tisné with twenty men to the Great Chief of the Natchez, to tell him that he had some matters to impart to him, and that he begged the chief to meet him at the Tonicas. Du Tisné returned the next day and informed de Bienville that the Great Chief would soon follow him. He did not, however, leave his village, but sent to the French commandant some subaltern chiefs, with about twenty-five men.

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[1] The King had ordered Bienville, with 80 men, to begin a fort at Natchez. La Motte Cadillac would give him only Richebourg's company of 34 men. Richebourg, p. 242.

[2] They reached the Tonicas, April 23. Richebourg, p. 242. See Charlevoix, Journal, pp. 431–4.

1713-25.

What occurred between him and the Natchez.

As soon as Bienville perceived their canoe in the distance, he raised five flags on the river bank, erected a number of tents, and beat all his drums to make them believe that he had at least six hundred men. The Indians disembarked and entered the fort with as much confidence as though the affair were a mere visit. They then presented to the commandant a calumet of peace, but he refused it, which so startled those savages, that they gave themselves up for lost. Bienville told them, with an angry air, that he had come to exact satisfaction for the murder of the five Frenchmen which they had committed; that he wished them either to deliver up the murderers, or at least bring in their heads.

What he demanded, was, they replied, not in their power; but if he so desired, they would send some of their party to their Great Chief, to notify him of the commandant's intentions. He consented on condition that all the others should remain his prisoners, and he at once had them conveyed to a cabin, where a strict watch was kept over them.[1] Those who went to the Natchez soon returned and presented to the commandant the head of a man[2] whom the Great Chief had put to death, but who really was not one of the murderers. Bienville asked them whether they intended to make game of him, and added that he must have the heads of the culprits, especially the head of a chief whom he had named expressly.

The envoys replied that this chief was the nephew of the Sun, who would sooner see his whole village perish than sacrifice that young man, the bravest of all his nation; that besides, he had among those detained by him, the four murderers of the French, and might bring them to justice. Bienville at once had them brought up: they

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[1] Richebourg, (p. 245,) gives this differently. He says the Great Sun, Little Sun and the Stung Serpent came to Bienville, who detained them and put them in irons. The Little Sun was allowed to go back for the heads of the murderers. He brought, May 14, three, one of them of a warrior not implicated.

[2] Bienville insisted on the head of Oyelape, or White Earth.

1713-25. attempted to deny the fact, but were convicted, and their brains dashed out with clubs. Among them was one chief so notorious throughout the country for his cruelties and acts of treachery, that all the nations had long desired his death.[1]

He makes peace with them.

This expedition ended, a consultation was held on the most expedient course in the actual conjuncture, and it was unanimously decided, that as the Natchez, if driven to extremes, were able to interrupt the navigation of the river and all communication with the Illinois, it was better to profit by the terror which we had succeeded in inspiring, to make an advantageous peace with them, and to offer as a favor the following conditions:

1. That they should erect at their own expense, and in a place to be assigned in their great village, a fort with storehouses and barracks necessary for the garrison and the storekeepers to be established there. 2. That they should restore all the goods taken from the French, and make full reparation for all the other losses which they had caused. 3. That the Great Chief's nephew, of whom complaint was made, should not appear in the village, under the penalty of having his head broken. These articles were read to the deputies, who approved them, and Mr. de Pailloux was dispatched with twenty men to have them ratified by the Great Chief.[2]

He entered the village with drums beating and ensign unfurled; the whole tribe, who loved the French, came out to meet him, and received him with great acclamations. He went directly to the Sun's cabin and presented to him the conditions of peace: the chief accepted them, and said that he simply awaited Mr. de Bienville's orders to begin work on the fort: and on this reply, which was communicated to the commandant, he came up from the

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[1] Evidently alluding to le Barbu. Gayarré, i., p. 145; Richebourg, Louisiana H. Coll., iii., pp. 248, 251; two were tomahawked June 9, and two others on the 12th. Ib., p. 251. Relation de Louisianne, (Voyages au Nord, v., p. 21).

[2] Gayarré, i., p. 143; Richebourg, Memoire, Louisiana Hist. Coll., iii., p. 249. They were to kill the White Earth chief as soon as they could lay hands on him.

Tonicas with fifty men to the Natchez, where the Sun, followed by all his towns, received him as he disembarked from his canoe. 1712-25.

Post established among these Indians.

The next day he selected the spot where he wished the fort erected; it was laid out at once, and de Pailloux appointed to superintend the work. It was completed at the end of six weeks, and Bienville, who had returned to his camp at the Tonicas, came up with all the French to take possession. He added quarters for the officers, barracks for the soldiers and magazines both for merchandise and for ammunition and army stores.

The fort was named Rosalie, after Madame de Pontchartrain, wife of the Chancellor, a name, as I have elsewhere observed, already proposed by Mr. d'Iberville for a city which he designed founding at this very spot. The Natchez then sang the calumet to Mr. de Bienville,[1] who spent all the rest of that year, 1714[2] at Rosalie. Before leaving it, he placed the Sieur de Pailloux in command, assigning to him du Tisné as lieutenant. He proceeded at once to Maubile, where he remained only long enough to prepare a great convoy, which he himself conducted to the Natchez.

Fort built at the Natchitoches.

It was about the same time that Mr. de Saint Denys arrived at Maubile, and as the reply which he bore from the Viceroy of New Spain deprived de la Motte Cadillac of all hope of carrying on trade with the Spaniards openly, he thought it his duty to prevent their approaching too closely to us, as they seemed bent on doing; with this view, he dispatched the Sieur du Tisné to build a fort on the Island of the Natchitoches. Scarcely was this fort completed when du Tisné was informed that the Spaniards had established a post among the Assinais, and there was every reason to believe that they designed to push on to the Micissipi, had they not been prevent-

[1] August 25. Richebourg, p. 252.

[2] He reached Mobile Oct. 4, and there found a royal order, appointing him to command in the absence of Mr. de l'Epinay, appointed to succeed Cadillac. See also as to this Natchez war, Duclos to the minister, June 7, 1716. Gayarré, i., p. 130.

1712-25. ed. This obliged the Governor of Louysiana to reinforce the garrison of the Fort of the Natchitoches.[1]

State of Louysiana commerce in 1716.

Meanwhile, the exclusive commerce granted to Crozat in 1712, far from accelerating the progress of the Colony of Louysiana, had been prejudicial to it, nor had Crozat derived from it all the benefit he had promised himself. These two things always go together; to acquire wealth by the trade of a colony, it must be peopled, and the inhabitants made consumers of the goods sent there, giving in return. This cannot be attained without great outlay. Those engaged in such enterprises must select carefully the men to whom they confide their interests. Nothing of this was done, and all parties suffered.

To understand well what the sequel of this history obliges me to say on this point, we must go back a little, and state more in detail the actual position of Louysiana, when Crozat obtained the privilege above mentioned, and the position when he renounced that privilege. In 1712 there were in all that province only twenty-eight French families, not half of them engaged in cultivating the soil, or properly styled settlers; the rest were traders, innkeepers and mechanics not permanently settled in any place.

Trade was then conducted only at Maubile and Isle Dauphine, and the only articles were planks, bear, deer and cat-skins and other like furs. The voyageurs or bushlopers, almost all Canadians, went to the Indians, to barter such French goods as they could get, for peltries

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St. Denys was on good terms with his Spanish neighbors, and as Spanish authorities show, rendered them good service. Bonilla says he facilitated the entrance of the Spaniards into Texas, and by his amiable manners won the Indians, and gave the most constant proofs of his good faith. Yet the Spanish government ordered him to be carried off to Guatemala, and Ramon to be removed from the frontier, a disgrace which the latter escaped by death in 1724, having been killed by the Indians. Bonilla, Compendio, § 8. For his visit in 1716, see Bénard de la Harpe, p. 138, &c. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 10–23. He reached Mexico May 3, 1717, to claim goods seized, but was put in prison; escaped Sept. 15, 1718, reached Natchitoches 24 Feb. 1719. La Harpe, pp. 145–6.

and slaves, which they then sold to the settlers; these last sold the peltries again to the Spaniards at Pensacola, or the vessels which occasionally came from France, and they employed these slaves in clearing the ground, or sawing planks, for which they found a market sometimes at Pensacola, more frequently at Martinique or St. Domingo. They obtained from these colonies in exchange, sugar, tobacco, cacao and French goods when there had been a long delay in receiving them direct. 1716-25.

They also carried to Pensacola, where the Spaniards had cleared no land, vegetables, Indian corn, poultry, and in general, all the products of their industry which their less ingenious and less laborious neighbors needed. All this brought in a little money, with which they purchased what they were obliged to obtain from abroad: it was not enough to enrich them, but they had quite an easy life. They had also learned that the country would produce tobacco, indigo, cotton and silk, but there were no hands for all these crops; there was no one in the colony who could aid them, or who thought of encouraging them; they did not even know the method of cultivating these plants.

Moreover, the colony was by no means solidly established, so that there was always a fear that the King would abandon it, and all the care and pains they might take would be lost. Many even retired elsewhere, and others remained only because they lacked means to go. It is astonishing that Mr. Crozat, when acquiring the domain of Louysiana with the exclusive right to trade for twenty-five years, did not inform himself of the real state of things, so as to form his plans on these necessary data: but it is quite ordinary on these occasions to distrust the very persons from whom the most correct information can be obtained, and whose experience fits them most to second a new enterprise. It is feared that they will sacrifice the new proprietary's interests to their own, and men do not reflect that the surest way to succeed in such affairs is to interest those who are most versed in it,

1716-36. so that they shall see their own advantage in the success of the enterprise.

This Mr. Crozat failed to do, and he did not understand that nothing can be derived from a country, how good soever it may be, when the settler is not allowed to grow richer. Scarcely had he taken possession of his exclusive trade, when the vessels from the West Indies ceased to appear in Louysiana. At the same time the settlers were forbidden to go to Pensacola, the very source whence all the money came that was current in the colony, or to sell anything whatever except to Crozat's agents, who thus found themselves in a position to put on the colonial products such values as they chose; a power which they did not fail to abuse; at last they rated peltries so low, that the hunters, finding it more profitable to dispose of them in Canada and the English colonies, carried them all there.

By pursuing just the opposite course, Crozat's company would have acquired credit and secured the confidence of the colonists, after which it might have led them to its object, when it had increased their number and induced them to derive from their country all that it could produce. But by cutting them off from the little vein of silver flowing in from Pensacola, by depressing the price of their products and wares, by fettering their commerce, which they understood far better than the company, and the product of which would have flowed back to the company itself, by raising the price of what they were obliged to draw from France, it left them unable to subsist, and still more to make their lands available.

This decline of Louysiana trade and cultivation could not but prove highly injurious to the King also, if we reflect that after the twenty-five years for which Crozat's monopoly was to last, the colony would be found less advanced than it was when granted to him, and his majesty was not compensated by the fifty tons freight which the company was bound to give him on its vessels. The King indeed thus saved the expense of a ship, which he

would have had to send to Louysiana, to carry over all required for the subsistence of the troops; but there was a more natural way of saving this, or rather of meeting this expense by the freight, which the vessel would be sure to find at Saint Domingo. 1716-36.

This would only require the fitting out of a 170 ton frigate every year, or one of those two decked English galleys, which, for all their having a large hold, are still good sailers, and managed by a small crew, on account of the lightness of their movements. In fact, I say nothing here, except after a detailed memoir transmitted at the time to the minister by Mr. Duclos, who, as already noted, succeeded Mr. d'Artaguette in the office of Commissaire Ordonnateur in Louysiana, and who subsequently held the same office at Cap François in Saint Domingo, where he acted so well during the troubles that occurred in that colony in 1723, and who was soon after appointed Intendant of the Leeward Isles.

Crozat's propositions and complaints.

Crozat saw the damage which his monopoly did to the King's interests sooner than he did the injury he inflicted on the people of Louysiana. This obliged him to make new propositions to his majesty on the 5th of July, 1714, with the view of enabling the officers, soldiers and other employees, whom the King maintained in the colony, to receive their pay more promptly, as well as consignments of goods and munitions, either for public works, or for keeping up the forts, or for the presents annually made to the Indians, and the propositions were accepted. He had some months previously presented other memoirs full of complaints on various topics, and which disclose the fact that great complaints were made in Louysiana against his monopoly.

His complaints were: 1. That the weakness of the French in that colony drew on them the contempt of the Indians, and left them unable to prevent those savages from constantly making war on each other, the result of which was, that it was impossible to establish any kind of trade in the country, nor consequently to send ships from

1716-36. France without risking the loss of all the expenses of outfit. 2. That the English were coming very near the French, who cantoned on the Maubile River and Dauphin Island, where the lands are worthless, left open to the English all the banks of the Micissipi, where nothing prevented their settling, and then penetrating to New Mexico and New Biscay: this was a general complaint among intelligent persons. 3. That the indifference manifested in France for Louysiana was inexplicable. Mr. Crozat did not hesitate to aver that if the advantages to be derived from it were considered, there was no colony which it was more important for the state to preserve and extend. The maritime commerce, said he, is almost reduced to nothing. Yet it is only by the voyages of merchantmen in time of peace that sailors are formed, whom the King can employ in his naval forces when war is declared. Hence it is, as a general thing, important to extend navigation, and by the different settlements which might be made in Louysiana, there is hope, if the work is seriously begun, that the commerce of that country will in a few years employ a considerable number of ships. So well are the English convinced of the importance of the Louysiana colony, that it is only necessary to ask the Marshal d'Uxelles what he heard them say at Utrecht about our settlement on the Micissippi. Their conduct since that time justifies day by day what the memoir put forward on this point. 4. And this is Crozat's worst complaint, and at the same time his reply to the objections made him that after undertaking with the King to colonize Louysiana and establish there all kinds of trade, of which he admitted it was capable, it was nevertheless in a worse condition than when he took control of it. He complained that they had refused to register his Letters Patent in the Council of that province; that all parties opposed it, and that this opposition was fomented by the officers, accustomed to trade with the Spaniards.[1]

It was apparently in the endeavor to bring the troops to

[1] Dumont, Memoires Historiques, ii., pp. 6–7.

his side that he made to the King the proposals contained in the memoir already mentioned; but as his affairs did not improve after this step, he waited till the term of his privilege expired, in the following year, 1717, and then surrendered it to the King. Then it was that that famous Western Company was formed, which, under the direction of Law, gradually took in hand almost all the internal and exterior commerce of the kingdom, and from the bosom of which sprang the now flourishing India Company," the only one that has succeeded in France since the foundation of the monarchy. The Letters Patent of the former, in the form of an edict, entitled "Establishment of Trade under the name of the Western Company," registered in the parliament on the 6th of September in the same year, declared that his majesty grants to the said company for twenty-five years:

1716-36.

He surrenders his privilege to the King. His majesty transfers it to the Western Company.

1st, The commerce of Canada on condition of extending cultivation and plantations.

2d, To carry on exclusively for the space of twenty-five years, counting from the day of registration, trade in the province and jurisdiction of Louysiana, and in perpetuity all the lands, ports, coasts, harbors and islands which composed that province, to enjoy in all property, seignory and justice, reserving to himself no right or duty, except simple fidelity and liege homage, which the said company shall be bound to render him; and to his successors, at every change of king, with a gold crown weighing thirty marks. And it is well to note here, that by another Enactment of the 27th of said month of September, the Illinois country was detached from the jurisdiction of New France, and incorporated with that of Louysiana.

3d, The power to treat and form alliances in his majesty's name, throughout the grant, with all the nations of the country, not dependent on other European powers, and in case of insult, to declare war against them, treat of peace or truce.

4th, The absolute possession of the mines, and veins opened by it during the term of its privilege.

1716-36. 5th, Permission to sell and alienate the lands within said grant, to erect such forts, castles and strongholds as it shall deem necessary for the defence of the territory granted; to place garrisons there, to raise troops in France with his majesty's concert, and to appoint such governors, majors, officers and others as shall please it, to command the troops.[1]

Mr. de l'Epinai Governor of Louysiana.

Mr. de la Motte Cadillac and Mr. Duclos were no longer in Louysiana when this change took place. Mr. de l'Epinai[2] had succeeded the former, and Mr. Hubert the latter. They had arrived at Dauphin Island[3] in the month of March of that year, and some months after the Western Company appointed Mr. de Bienville Commandant General of all the province. His commission bore date September 20th, but he did not receive it or take possession till the ensuing year. Mr. de l'Epinai had come with three ships, bringing many officers, a great number of soldiers, a supply of ammunition, and provisions and merchandise of all kinds. All was discharged at the storehouses on Dauphin Island except the goods which were in the Dudlow, commanded by Mr. de Golleville, whose orders were to proceed to Vera Cruz to dispose of them. This captain, learning what had befallen Mr. de la Jonchere, who had failed to obtain permission to trade at that port five years before, did not deem it prudent to show himself there: he anchored at Villarica, the ancient Vera Cruz, built by Cortez, and secretly notified the Spanish merchants, who came on board, bought his cargo and paid him in hard cash.[4]

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[1] Letters Patent to the Western Company, Aug., 1717. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 47–81. Louisiana Hist. Coll., iii., p. 49–59. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 139. This was the company formed by the famous John Law.

[2] Mr. de Lepinai, appointed by the King Governor of Louisiana, Oct. 8, 1716, was a naval officer, and came over in command of the Paon, which, with the Ludlow, reached Dauphin Island March 9. Relation de la Louisianne ou Mississipi, (Voyages au Nord,) p. 4. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 131. See his Instructions in Gayarré, Histoire de la Louisiane, i., p. 153. Pénicaut, Relation, ch. xix., § 2.

[3] It now dropped its name Isle Massacre for that of Dauphin Island. Dumont, ii., p. 7. Le Gac was Chief Director, and le Maire missionary. Ib.

[4] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 19, § 3.

Meanwhile, Mr. de l'Epinai was busily fortifying Dauphin Island, where all the storehouses were, and while he was engaged with these cares, twenty-four Indian nations[1] sent deputies to compliment him and sing the calumet to him. But the joy inspired by this general concourse of the nations included in his jurisdiction, was soon dashed by an unforeseen accident which disconcerted his plans and rendered useless all the money just expended on Dauphin Island. Towards the end of August, the mouth of the only harbor on the island was closed by a prodigious collection of sand heaped up there by a hurricane. The island itself was almost entirely inundated, and many of the cattle were drowned.[2]

1716-36.

His reception by the Indians. The port of Isle Dauphin closes.

A new roadstead had to be sought for the ships, and Isle Surgère was selected, afterwards called Isle aux Vaisseaux—Ship Island. It has, however, only one roadstead, a tolerably good one, except when the wind blows from the north, or northwest, but these winds are rare there, and not violent. To protect the ships, a small fort was built on the island, and the Dauphin Island establishment was transferred to Biloxi, north of Ship Island, though ships cannot approach within four leagues of it.

Nothing shows more clearly how we then confined ourselves to the trade that might be carried on with the Spaniards, than this new post: for the soil of Biloxi is no better than that of Dauphin Island, and that post has not even a roadstead for the smaller brigantines. It is inconceivable how they could dream of placing the centre

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[1] Pénicaut, ch. 19, § 5, names the Choctaws, Taouachas, Apalaches, Tinnsals, Mobilians, Tomes, Gens de Fourches, Capinans, Colapiças, (Aquelon-pissas—nation of men who hear and see. Le Page, i., 46.) Bayagoulas, Oumas, Chaouachas, Natchez, Chicachas, Nassitoches, Yalaas, Alibamons, Canapouces. We may here add some tribes with definitions. Pascagoula, (Bread nation, Le Page, i., 41.) Oufé-ogoulas, (Dog nation,) 2, p. 226. Chactchioumas, (Red crabs,) 2, p. 226. Atacapas, (Men eaters,) 2, p. 231. Oqueloussas, Blackwater, p. 241.

[2] A storm in March choked up the channel, and at the end of April, 1717, a bar 14 fathoms wide and as high as the island was formed, shutting in the Paon and a merchantman. Relation de la Louisianne, p. 9; Bénard de la Harpe, Journal, p. 132. Pénicaut, ch. 19, § 4.

1716-36. of a colony on sterile sands, unapproachable to anything but sloops; unable to defend the shipping or be defended by it; yet it was left there for five whole years.

Commencement of New Orleans. It was, nevertheless, this same year that the foundations were laid of the capital of Louysiana, under the name of New Orleans. Mr. de Bienville having come from Natchez to Maubile to salute the new Governor, told him that he had remarked on the banks of the river a site well fitted for a post, and Mr. de l'Epinai entrusted him with its establishment; he gave him eight salt smugglers, just arrived from France, with carpenters, to build some houses there. He at the same time commanded Captain Blondel to relieve Mr. de Pailloux at Natchez, the latter officer receiving orders to join Mr. de Bienville and aid him in his enterprise, which was not carried out to any great extent at this time. Mr. de Pailloux was made Governor of the rising city. In my Journal I have noted the drawbacks of its situation.[1]

A ship enters the Micissipi. 1718. In the early part of the following year, they at last thought of sounding the mouth of the Micissipi, to see whether ships could enter with all their cargo on board, and sixteen feet of water were found on the bar. The Neptune,[2] just arrived from France, was at once sent there, and it ascended without any difficulty to New Orleans. It is astonishing, that after this experiment men did not open their eyes to the importance of making it at once the headquarters, and that so many thousand men were left to waste with misery and disease under the pretext that there were not batteaux enough to transport them to their destination, when the very ships that brought them from France might have landed them at New Orleans, and even nearer to their concessions.

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[1] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 19, § 7. For the founding of New Orleans, See Dumont, Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane, ii., p. 39–46; Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane; Charlevoix, Journal, p. 441; Louisiana Hist. Coll., iii., pp. 179–182. Bienville, in February, 1718, left 50 carpenters and convicts to clear the ground and build. It was laid out later by la Tour, the engineer.

[2] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 20, § 1. The Philippe and the Marie arrived also, but brought few settlers. Dumont, ii., p. 8.

R. Place d'Armes.
C. Couvent des Capucins
D. Prisons
E. Corps de garde
F. Gouvernements
H. Hopital
I. Ursulines.
K. Magasins du Roy
L. Casernes
M. Forges du Roy
O. Hangard de la Marine sous lequel en construit.
P. Corps de garde des Bourgeois
Q. Cabanes des Negres
R. Poudriere
S. Nouvelle maison des Ursulines
Echelle
50 100 150 Toises
Corps de garde
Fossé plein d'eau
Chemin de Bayou
Rue de Bourbon
Rue Royale
Rue de Chartres
Rue de Bienville
Rue St Louis
Rue de Conty
Rue de Toulouse
Rue St Pierre
Rue d'Orleans
Rue St Anne
Rue du Main
Rue St Philippe
Rue de Carmes
Quay
FLEUVE MISSISIPI

1718.

Arrival of the first Concessions.

It was in the month of March ensuing that the colony saw the first Concessionaries arrive. The Sieur Dugué de Boisbriand accompanied them, bearing the orders of the King,[1] or rather of the Company, which, under his majesty's good pleasure, had appointed him Commandant at the Illinois, Mr. de Bienville Commandant-General of Louysiana and Director of the Company, and Mr. de Pailloux Major-General. De Boisbriand ascended to the Illinois without delay, taking with him Mr. Diron and the Chevalier d'Artaguette, both brothers of the former Commissaire Ordonnateur; the former was a captain, and ere long was declared Inspector-General of Louysiana; the latter was a lieutenant.

At the same time several Indian tribes, some of which had long seemed hostile to the French, like the Chetimachas, settled on the Micissippi, quite near New Orleans, and as most of these tribes are accustomed to the cultivation of the soil, they cleared large tracts, which was a resource for the city, since the Indians often in need supplied it with provisions. Some of the Concessionaries also sent part of their people up this river, and the advantages they found there for settling permanently, made all who had the general good at heart, regret that the other Concessionaries were prevented from adopting the same course. The uneasiness at first entertained in regard to the English had vanished; all the tribes bordering on the Micissipi lived on very good terms with us, and the only means of arming ourselves against the intrigues of the former and the inconstancy of the latter, was to fortify and people the colony.[2]

In the month of June of this same year, de Bienville took possession of St. Joseph's Bay, fifty leagues east of Dauphin Island.[3] His brother, Mr. de Chateaugué, was

[1] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 20, § 1. The order of the Council of State, directing Mr. de l'Epinai to turn over the government of the colony to Bienville, was dated Oct. 27, 1717. Gayarré, i., p. 157. His only act during his short rule was to pass a prohibitory, and of course unpopular, liquor law.

[2] Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 20; Charlevoix, Journal, p. 394. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 82.

[3] It still retains the name; it lies E. of Apalachicola, and N. of Cape

1718. entrusted with this expedition, which he carried out without any obstacle; he then erected a stone fort there. The Spaniards had abandoned this post eighteen years before; but the Governor of Pensacola was no sooner informed of this enterprise, than he wrote to Bienville that St. Joseph's Bay belonged to the Catholic King.[1] It was not worth a contest with that crown, and Mr. de Chateaugué, who had taken possession of it, did not doubt for a moment that it would soon have to be abandoned, as in fact it was the next year. The reasons which brought Mr. de Bienville and the Company to this were: 1st, That the post is useless, not only on account of its great distance and want of security for ships there, but chiefly on account of the impossibility of defending the entrance, which is more than a good league in width. 2nd, That it is extremely inconvenient, both in regard to the difficulty of landing reinforcements, for you have to wait for the proper moment, which frequently will not occur for a week, or even a fortnight; and on account of the sterility of the soil, which for more than four leagues around is nothing but bare sand, and on account of the insalubrity of the air, which in all that country is very unhealthy, all our soldiers having been very sick there. This occasioned many desertions, which there was no way to prevent. 3rd, That the vessels are not sheltered there from any wind, and the water to be found there is very bad.

St. Joseph's Bay occupied by the French and almost immediately abandoned.

Description of Pensacola.

What occurred the following year in this colony will suffice to let all judge what we would now be in a position to effect there had men profited by the advantages in

1719.

San Blas. Don Juan Manuel Roldan discovered Chateauguay soon after he entered, and seeing his intention to settle, reported to Matamoros, Governor of Pensacola, who sent him with a letter to Chateaugué, who referred him to Bienville. Roldan then endeavored to induce French soldiers to desert, and 25 actually did, persuaded by Roque, a Spanish captain. La Harpe, p. 141. Capt. de Gousy was left in command of the French fort. Matamoros disapproving of this, wrote to Bienville. Bienville replied May 14, that he acted under orders from court. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, pp. 338–9. The French abandoned it May, 1718. La Harpe, p. 142. In 1719 Gregorio de Salinas sailed to reoccupy it, and thus left Pensacola exposed. Ib. p. 347.

[1] Pénicaut, ch. 21, § 1. Bénard de la Harpe.

their hands to establish a powerful colony. In the month of February, 1719, de Serigny arrived in Louysiana with three ships,[1] announced that war was declared with Spain, and showed the orders he had received to take Pensacola. The bay which bears that name was, according to the Spaniards, first discovered by Pamphilo de Narvaez,[2] who landed there in his unhappy Florida expedition.[3] Subsequently, Diego de Maldonado, one of Hernando de Soto's captains, rediscovered it and gave it the name of Port of Anchusi.[4] In 1558, Don Tristan de Luna named it Saint Mary's Bay,[5] and in 1693, Don Andres de Pes, General of the Barlovento fleet, having gone to explore it, added to the last name that of Galve, in honor of the Count of Galve, then Viceroy of Mexico.[6] Accordingly among Spaniards, the bay is known only under the name of Santa Maria de Galve. And the name of Pensacola, that of the native inhabitants of the spot, who have been destroyed by other Indians, is retained by the province, to which the Spaniards assign a very great extent.[7] 1719.

In 1696, Don Andres de Arriola having been appointed first Governor of this province, proceeded to take possession, and on the Bay of Santa Maria de Galve, built a fort with four bastions, which he styled Fort San Carlos; with a church and some houses;[8] and the place was in Its fort taken from the Spaniards.

[1] Pénicaut, ch. 21, § 1. Bénard de la Harpe.

[2] Smith's Cabeza de Vaca, p. 64; Ensayo Cronologico, p. 299.

[3] Pamphilo de Narvaez landed at Espiritu Santo, now Tampa Bay. Smith's Cabeza de Vaca, p. 58; although Siguenza supposed him to have landed at Pensacola. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 308. As to his Expedition, see Smith's Cabeza de Vaca, Albany, 1871; Oviedo's Relation in Historical Magazine, II. ii., pp. 141, &c.

[4] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, 308, 299 The fact is not mentioned by the Knight of Elvas or Biedma.

[5] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, 33.

[6] Ib. 299, 308. This Viceroy was Gaspar de Sandoval, Silva y Mendoza, Count of Galve, Nov., 1688, to Feb., 1696. Alaman, Disertaciones, iii., pp. 41–3.

[7] The Indians were hostile to the Spaniards, killing them under the very guns of the fort, and keeping up a blockade. Relation de la Louisianne, p. 19. The French land force was commanded by Captains de Chateaugué and de Richebourg. Dumont, ii., p. 10.

[8] Barcia, Ensayo Crono., p. 316. Fort Siguenza on Santa Rosa Island, was begun in 1718. Ib., p. 342.

1719. this state in 1719, when Mr. de Serigny laid siege to it; the Western Company having seized the opportunity of the rupture between the two crowns to obtain the only port there is in all the northern coast of Florida, from the Bahama Channel to the Micissipi. De Serigny began by convening a great council of war, the decision of which was, that Messrs. de Bienville and de Chateaugué, his brothers, should summon to Maubile all the Indian allies, all the French settlers, voyageurs and concessionaries, and lead them overland to Pensacola, while the three vessels,[1] after taking on board a hundred and fifty soldiers, should enter the bay. All this was carried out with great secrecy and diligence.

On the 14th of May, at ten o'clock in the morning, Mr. de Serigny entered the bay: Don Juan Pedro de Matamoros,[2] Governor of Fort San Carlos, who was not in a condition to resist, had just sent to Don Gregorio de Salinas, Governor of St. Joseph, to ask him for assistance; but he had no time to receive it. Serigny began by opening a brisk fire, and, although it lasted five hours, the Spaniards pretend to have had only one man killed.[3] The fire having ceased, the Governor sent an infantry captain to know from the French commandant, the cause of so unforeseen a hostility. De Serigny sent this officer back with a French captain, who informed Don Juan that war had been declared and published in France on the 14th of January, and summoned him to surrender the place. The Governor, by the advice of his council, asked till next day to answer, and he obtained the delay; but then reflecting that with the hundred and sixty men

[1] A Spanish author reckons four vessels. *Charlevoix.* Bienville sailed from Dauphin Island May 13, in a sloop with 80 men; Serigny in the Philippe; with the Comte de Toulouse, Capt. Mechin, and Maréchal de Villars, Capt. the Chev. de Grieu. Bienville to Minister, Oct. 20, 1719, in Gayarré, Hist. de la Louisiane, i., p. 168 Laval, Voyage, p. 103. Dumont, Memoires, ii., pp. 9–12. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 148.

[2] Juan Pedro Matamoros, born at Granada; entered the army in 1696; distinguished himself at Tarifa, Ceuta and at Gibraltar, where he was wounded. He was appointed Governor of Pensacola Feb. 18, 1717. He was taken to France, and did not reach Spain till 1720. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, 330, 363.

[3] Barcia, Ensayo Cron., p. 349.

whom he had, with no hope of receiving in season the reinforcements he had solicited, it was impossible to resist six hundred men who attacked him by sea, and seven hundred who were coming by land, he deemed it prudent to try and obtain favorable terms, rather than risk the consequence of a useless resistance. Hence, the same day, before the expiration of the term granted him, he capitulated on the following conditions : 1719.

1st, That two vessels should be furnished him, provisioned to go to Havana. 2nd, That the Spaniards should take with them neither arms nor munitions of war. 3rd, That all hostilities should cease for a week after the departure of the garrison, and in case of their putting back, for a week more.[1]

As soon as this capitulation was signed by the two commandants, the garrison on the 15th marched forth and encamped outside. Mr. de Chateaugué entered with three hundred men, and began by making an inventory of all he found there. On the 18th of June, the Governor of Pensacola sailed for Havana with four hundred Spaniards on the Comte de Toulouse and the Marechal Villars, commanded by Mr. Méchin and the Chevalier de Grieu.[2] These two ships were attacked off the coast of Cuba by English privateers, who, not perceiving the superiority of their antagonists until they were so engaged that they could not easily escape, sent to apologize to the commandants for mistaking them for Spaniards.[3] This might be ; but it is well known that such mistakes are so common with the English, that we would be justified in not always overlooking them.

Meanwhile, Don Gregorio Guaço, the commander at Havana, had just sent out a fleet under Don Alphonso Carrascosa de la Torre, to expel the English from Fort

[1] Bienville to minister, Oct. 20, 1719. Laval, Voyage, p. 103 ; Dumont, Memoires Historiques, p. 11 ; Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 349, gives the articles in full ; Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 21. Le Page du Pratz, i., pp. 93–5.

[2] The prisoners were sent under the charge of Capt. de Richebourg. Dumont, Memoires, p. 11. Le Page du Pratz, i , p. 95.

[3] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 350.

1719. St. George,[1] in Carolina, promising himself nothing less than the conquest of all that province. Some time after he discerned the two French frigates, and at once dispatched a barque to Don Alphonso, to order him to attack them. The French commandants, on their side, seeing a whole fleet bearing down upon them, wore ; but the wind suddenly falling, they took heart from the fact that as they carried the Governor and garrison of Pensacola, the capitulation of that place should serve as a safe conduct. The memoir which I found on this affair in the Dépôt de la Marine, says that the Spanish commandant demanded that the French should restore to him all those of his nation who were on their ships ; that they refused, and that on this refusal, the fleet turned towards Havana and obliged them to enter the port with it, though they did not wish to go in. The Spanish historian avers, on the contrary, that Carrascosa put a guard on board the two French frigates, and entered Havana with his fleet and the two prizes to receive his general's orders.[2]

The French who conduct the garrison to Havana arrested there.

Be that as it may, Don Gregorio Guaço, postponing the Carolina expedition to some other season, thought he should begin by recapturing Pensacola ; he even thought it his duty to reinforce his fleet with all the garrison of that place, with a hundred and fifty men drawn from the forts at Havana, and with a number of volunteers, whom the hope of conquering all Louysiana, enticed to take part in this expedition. He retained the two frigates to employ them in conveying the French to San Domingo and Cumana, and to carry to those two cities the provisions of which they stood in the greatest need. He at the same time dispatched to the Marquis de Valero,[3]

The Spaniards prepare to recapture Pensacola.

[1] De l'Isle, on a map of the period, has St. George or New London. Wilton or New London was on the Edisto. Carroll, ii., p. 453.

[2] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 351 ; de Richebourg was put in prison and his soldiers in irons. Dumont, ii., p. 12. Laval, Voyage, pp. 104–5. Bienville to minister, Oct. 20, 1719, refers to the documents forwarded by de Serigny, to prove the bad faith of the Spaniards in seizing these vessels. Pénicaut, ch. 21. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 95.

[3] Baltasar de Zuñiga, Marquis de Valero, Duke of Arion, 1716–1722. Alaman, iii., p. 52.

Viceroy of Mexico, a light barque, to beg him to order Don Francisco Cornejo, commandant of the Barlovento Fleet, who was then at Vera Cruz, to proceed to join Carrascosa at Pensacola as soon as he heard of that commandant's arrival in Florida. The Viceroy had anticipated him: informed of the capture of Pensacola by the Governor of Saint Joseph, and warned by a Franciscan Father, who was in that place when it surrendered to de Serigny, that the French had undertaken its capture only with the view of penetrating to New Mexico, he had at once dispatched couriers to all the ports of New Spain, with orders to all vessels and mariners whom they met, to proceed to Vera Cruz. He had at the same time made a levy of men on all sides, and had no embarrassment except to find shipping enough to embark all this force, when Don Francisco Cornejo entered the port of Vera Cruz with five men-of-war of the Barlovento Fleet. The Viceroy ordered him to prepare to sail to Pensacola, but as Cornejo was on the point of starting, the Viceroy sent him a countermand, to defer his departure till he had given him a reinforcement. 1719.

They arrive in sight of the bay.

Meanwhile, the change in the destination of the Havana fleet had not been to the taste of all who had embarked in it, and more than four hundred deserted before it sailed out of port. This mishap did not disconcert the Governor; he trusted that the valor of those who remained faithful to him would make up for numbers, and contented himself with embarking sixty grenadiers of his garrison in place of the deserters. On the 29th of June, Don Alphonso Carrascosa set sail, having in all only eight hundred and fifty men, including regulars, volunteers and marines on twelve vessels, three frigates, and nine bilanders. As soon as he was in sight of Saint Joseph, he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Don Bruno de Cavallero to the Governor of the fort, Don Gregorio de Salinas, to learn from him the actual situation of the French at Pensacola. The Governor replied that two deserters from

[1] Barcia Ensayo Cronologico, p. 353, says July 29, not June.

1719. that fort had assured him that Mr. de Chateaugué had made no repairs there, nor even collected material for the purpose; that Santa Rosa Island and Point Siguença were abandoned, and that the French commandant, he had no doubt, would be obliged to surrender at the first summons.

On this report, Carrascosa ran up to within half a league of Pensacola Bay,[1] and anchoring during the night, sent off a detachment of a hundred men, who, without meeting any resistance, took possession of Point Siguença, which is the western extremity of Santa Rosa Island. Fifty soldiers of the garrison of Pensacola immediately came in and surrendered,[2] assuring them that they had only to show themselves, to become masters of the fort; that all the French who were shut up there were good servants of the King of Spain, and would open the gates as soon as they appeared. This garrison had been very badly selected; it was composed entirely of deserters, salt smugglers, forced emigrants to Louisiana and other like rubbish, whom it was imprudent to collect in too large a body. The Spanish commander himself also entered the bay in a sloop, to inspect the real state of affairs. He saw two frigates, and had perfect leisure to examine them; reconnoitred the fort at his ease, as the cannon fired at him did not reach. Returning to Point Siguença, he ordered all the bilanders to enter the port, and as soon as they came to anchor, they opened a cannonade on the frigates and fort. The two frigates replied briskly, but this did not prevent one of them being boarded and taken. The crew of the other set fire to it and retired within the fort, which was at once invested by all the bilanders.

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[1] Charlevoix here follows in the main Barcia, but Dumont, Memoires, ii., p. 13–4, says that the Spaniards kept their own vessel outside of Santa Rosa Island, and that the Duke de Noailles, which they had treacherously captured, sailed in under French colors, and in answer to the French hail, said she was commanded by Richebourg. Then she opened fire and was joined by the other.

[2] Chateaugué was left with only about twenty.

The firing was vigorous on both sides all day, but not very effective. In the evening, Don Bruno Cavallero sent to summon Mr. de Chateaugué to surrender as a prisoner of war, with all his garrison, declaring that if he waited till his batteries were planted, he would give quarter to none. He asked till ten the next morning to decide, and this was granted; but the Spanish commandant occupied with strong detachments all the passes by which the Indians could come to the relief of the French. Chateaugué was bent on resisting to the last extremity, but his soldiers all unanimously declaring that they would not fight against the Spaniards, he was forced to surrender, and at the hour designated, he obtained these terms: That he should march out of his fort with all the honors of war, and be conveyed to Spain. Then almost all the French enlisted in the Spanish troops, except some who were thrown into the holds of vessels, tied hand and foot. The Governor, his lieutenant, the Director of the Company and all the officers, were paroled, while the vessel was fitting out to convey them to Havana.[1] That same day Carrascosa took possession of the fort, which he found well supplied with munitions and merchandise: he restored Don Juan Pedro Matamoros as Governor, and left there a sufficient garrison.[2]

1719.

Capture of the fort.

On the 25th of August he dispatched Captain Don Francisco Mendez to the Viceroy of New Spain, to bear tidings of the success of his enterprise, and that officer found Don Francisco Cornejo still at Vera Cruz with his squadron. The Marquis de Valero, charmed to learn that Pensacola had returned to the rule of his royal master, at once ordered Cornejo to set sail and to add to his squadron the ships just arrived from Havana under the command of Don Francisco Guerrero, in order to expel the French entirely from the Gulf of Mexico. Carrasco-

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Dumont says that he was arrested and made a prisoner in violation of the capitulation, Memoires, ii., p. 15.

Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, pp. 353–4. Bienville to minister, Oct. 20, 1719. Laval, Voyage, p. 106: Bénard de la Harpe, p. 150. Pénicaut, ch. 21, § 3. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 96–7.

1719. sa, on his side, was not a little embarrassed in appeasing a mutiny of his men, especially of the volunteers, malcontent at not being allowed to plunder the property of the French. The means adopted to allay the tumult was to surrender to them a hundred and sixty negroes belonging to the Western Company, who had taken refuge in an Indian town; he made them some other presents also, and they seemed satisfied.[1]

Spaniards defeated near Maubile.

He then thought of reducing Dauphin Island, and sent a detachment of three hundred picked men, including several Frenchmen,[2] giving the command to Captain Don Antonio Mendieta,[3] with instructions to approach the island as near as possible, in order to reconnoitre the number of soldiers and Indians who defended it. Don Antonio fulfilled his task very well. He found the Philippe, commanded by Mr. de Serigny, in the roadstead, supported by four good batteries.[4]

He visited the whole coast, although under fire from all quarters; and estimated the number of the French and their allies at two thousand. He then entered Maubile River, and approached Fort St. Louis, capturing five boats loaded with provisions which he saw coming out; but the French in his party having landed opposite an isolated house[5] in the fields, and begun to plunder it. Mr. de Vilinville, sent by de Bienville to de Serigny with a reinforcement of French and Indians, discovered them. He first detached fifteen Indians, who cut off their route; others proceeded to hide flat on the ground, at a place which they would have to pass in their flight; these did not show themselves till the enemy was within gun-shot, when with a yell they began the fight. The enemy, taken between two fires, made but a feeble resistance. Fifteen were killed on the spot; eighteen surrendered as prison-

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cron., p. 355.

[2] Barcia mentions Mr. Roque as the leader of these traitors.

[3] In the Gran Diablo. Dumont, Memoirs, ii., p. 16. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 98.

[4] The Philippe was anchored in the Trou du Major. Dumont, Memoires, ii., p. 16.

[5] The house of de Miragouïne, a Canadian. Dumont, Memoires, ii., p. 17. They took 20,000 livres worth of goods sent there for safety. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 154.

ers; the rest took to the water to reach their brigantine, and some of them were drowned. The prisoners were all French deserters; Vilinville sent them to Mr. de Blainville, who, for want of hangmen to run them up, tomahawked seventeen, and sent the eighteenth to de Serigny, who hung him.[1] 1719.

Serigny summoned to surrender the Philippe.

While this was going on in Maubile River, Don Estevan Berroa set sail with the Maréchal de Villars and another ship,[2] with orders to attack the Philippe, and to land on Dauphin Island all Mendieta's detachment, and a number of soldiers whom he had taken on board for that purpose; to burn the town if possible, so as to drive off the Indians and force them to leave the island; in a word, to do all that prudence might suggest as best for the service of the King, his master. He also bore a summons addressed to the Captain of the Philippe, in these terms:

SIR: I send you my boat to summon you to surrender, and not injure your vessel; otherwise, I will treat you as incendiaries, and show no quarter to any one. I will not even spare Mr. de Chateaugué, your brother, or your friend, who is in my power with the garrison of Pensacola, it being the will of my King, Philip, to treat with all rigor those taken with arms in their hands; while those who surrender, shall meet all possible leniency, and receive all the aid they need.[3]

Mr. de Serigny replied[4] that the Spaniards might attack him when they pleased, and that he was ready to receive them. In fact, besides the sixty men under the

[1] Bienville to the minister, Oct. 20, 1719. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 155, evidently confounds Vilinville and Bienville. Pénicaut, ch. 21, § 4, says the Indians were Mobilians. Barcia makes all the Spaniards killed on the field, p. 355.

[2] The Santo Christo del Buen Viage, Barcia, p. 356, an English vessel captured by the Spaniards off the coast of Cuba. La Ha , e, p. 155.

[3] This letter, dated On board the Nuestra Señora de Vicuña, Aug. 13, 1719, 10 a. m., and signed by Antonio de Mendieta, was received by Capt. Diourse of the Philippe. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 152–3.

[4] He expressed his contempt for the bravado of this letter. Ib.

1719. Sieur de Vilinville, who joined them most seasonably, a great many Indians had flocked to him from around Maubile; Mr. de Saint Denys brought in all the Biloxi Indians, and the Concessions sent him every man able to bear arms. Thus Berroa soon perceived that it would not be easy to succeed in his enterprise. As soon as he joined Mendieta, he learned from that officer that the island was daily filling up with French and Indians, all well armed, and a landing was nowhere practicable.

Repulse of the Spaniards at Dauphin Island.

He nevertheless attempted a descent on the little Isle Guillory, which is almost connected with Dauphin Island; but this detachment found Canadians and Indians there, who repulsed them, killing more than thirty men.[1] Two days after, the commandant having embarked on the Maréchal de Villars, and hoisted the great royal standard of Spain, appeared with another ship, a great flibustier boat, carrying ten guns, and with seven sloops. He approached Dauphin Island, and the next day the two ships anchored within gun-shot of the Philippe. The sloops, which were all filled with soldiers, and the great boat at the same time, entered the port, as if with the design of cannonading the town, and under favor of their guns, effecting a landing; but they found all the French and Indians in such an attitude, that they durst not attempt anything. They renewed the same manœuvre for fourteen days in succession, sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another, and were everywhere forced to draw off without doing anything. Yet there were on the whole island only two hundred Indians, and fewer Canadians and volunteers, on whom Mr. de Serigny could depend. The soldiers, to the number of eighty men, were of the same stamp as those who had deserted at Pensacola, and he had to distrust them as much as he did the enemy.

What most incommoded the Spaniards, was the cannon of the Philippe, which was anchored within pistol-shot of the land, and a barbette battery, which de Serigny had

[1] They were commanded by Trudeau, a Canadian. Bénard de la Harpe, Journal Historique, p. 156.

planted on the island, and which prevented their vessels from approaching near enough to the shore to favor their landing. At last, on the 26th, they weighed anchor and sailed back to Pensacola. The extent of their loss could not be precisely ascertained, but there was every reason to deem it considerable. Their greatest error was their lack of persistence, for had they continued to blockade Dauphin Island for never so short a time, they would infallibly have taken it. The besieged had been sleeping on the sand for three weeks, and could scarcely stand any longer; most of them were actually sick.[1] 1719.

They fortify Pensacola.

During this time the general had not been idle or free from trouble. He had wisely deemed it necessary to build a fort at the point of Santa Rosa Island, to defend the entrance to the harbor; and on this he employed all the negroes he had succeeded in taking from the French. What most retarded these works was the frequent alarms given to Fort St. Charles by the Indians; and when the Governor wished to make sorties upon them, these Indians leaped, says the Spanish historian, like goats on the mountain top, where it was impossible to follow them. This, with the first information which Carrascosa received from Don Estevan Berroa, as to the impossibility of taking the Philippe and landing on Dauphin Island, finally convinced him that he required a larger force to put an end to this war. A brigantine detached from Vera Cruz had assured him that the great reinforcement promised him would soon arrive; he expected provisions from Havana; the fort at Point Siguença was almost finished, as well as a fifteen gun battery that was to command the entrance of the harbor; they were diligently laboring to make Fort St. Charles proof against any insult; but hunger began already to be sensibly felt, and sickness began to spread.

The hope of receiving the supplies, announced as very near at hand, for a time sustained the troops, but as the

[1] Bienville to the minister, Oct. 20, 1719; Bénard de la Harpe, pp. 155–8. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 357.

1719. disease spread, and no relief appeared, many advised that the country should be abandoned before the mortality increased, because, if the French came with a new force, it would avail little to be well fortified, when want of provisions would force them to surrender. Men even began to think, ere long, that the expected succors were lost, it not being probable that the Viceroy of Mexico and the Governor of Havana would have neglected to send them at the time they had set, and some said openly that their departure should no longer be delayed, as they had only just provisions enough to carry them to Havana.

The general was so fortunate as to succeed in quelling this incipient mutiny, but he was soon after notified that five sail had been seen near Dauphin Island; that the captain of a bilander had sent his longboat to reconnoitre them, and that this boat, having gone too near, had been detained.[1] There was then no doubt that they were French ships, and this opinion was confirmed by the fact that for three days past not a band of Indians had been seen near Pensacola. This led to the conclusion that these savages had joined the French troops to invest the fort by land, while the ships attacked by sea. The Governor of San Carlos, the first to receive this tidings, thought it the best expedient to burn the fort to prevent the French from establishing themselves there, and to carry to the fort on Siguença Point all his artillery and munitions. But as he was almost alone in this opinion, he bade the general do what he deemed best for the King's service.[2]

Arrival of Mr. de Champmêlin with squadron.

The next morning the captain of another bilander assured the general that the ships which he had seen were merchantmen of from twenty to twenty-six guns at the most, but it was soon after reported to him, that six men-of-war were in sight to the southeast. He at first took it for Cornejo's squadron, but was soon undeceived, and it was evident that they were French vessels.[3] Carrascosa re-

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, pp. 357–9. Dumont, ii., p. 19.

[2] Barcia, Ensayo Cron., p. 359.

[3] Champmêlin had arrived at Dauphin Island, Sept. 1, with the Hercules, 60, Capt. de Gouyon;

solved to make at least a bold front; he sent Don Bruno Cavallero with a hundred men to the still unfinished fort on the Point; he proceeded in person with his frigate to the midst of the channel, where he lay to under several anchors. He ordered the two other frigates and the Maréchal de Villars, having reinforced them with a hundred men, to do the same thing, and draw up in line of battle, leaving only one side free at Fort Siguença; he drew all his other vessels up in line, and sent word of all to the Governor of San Carlos. The latter, on his side, had at once made out the ships to be French, because the moment they turned to approach the mouth of the harbor, he was attacked by a large body of Indians, with Frenchmen, as he judged, among them. 1719.

In fact, the Count de Champmêlin, commanding the squadron, having arrived in sight of Dauphin Island on the 31st of August, anchored the next day in the roadstead of that island with five men-of-war and two of the Company's ships. He met in the channel two Spanish bilanders, cruising there to cut off communication between the island and Maubile, but on sighting his squadron, they set sail for Pensacola. On the other hand, Mr. de Serigny, before communicating with Mr. de Champmêlin, had notified Mr. de Bienville to assemble the Indians with all the French he could find, and march with them to Dauphin Island; this done, he proceeded to salute the Count de Champmêlin and report to him the position of affairs. A few days after, Bienville arrived, and on the fifth the general held a great council of war. It was there decided that de Bienville should invest the fort at Pensacola by land with the four or five hundred Indians, and that Mr. de Serigny should remain with Mr.

Mars, 56, Capt. de Roquefeuille; Triton, 54, Capt. de Vienne; the Union, 48, Capt. de la Mancilliere – Gravé and the Marie, Capt. Japy or Chappy, bearing 28 officers and 800 men. La Harpe, p. 159. Dumont, ii., p. 18. On the 7th Sept., 1719, he sailed for Pensacola, leaving the Marie, but taking the Philippe. He landed the soldiers and Canadians from Dauphin Island at Rio Perdido. Dumont, ii., p. 21. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 100.

1719. de Champmêlin, to serve as his guide along the coast and entering the harbor.[1]

Preparations for attacking Ponsacola.

On the seventh, Dardennes, a Canadian, who had been sent to Pensacola to endeavor to reconnoitre the condition of the place, reported that he had counted eight vessels at anchor off St. Rosa Island, the masts lowered and the yards sheered up; that he had perceived a number of tents on the island and many men walking there; that the fort at Pensacola seemed to him in very good condition; that the bastion on the northeast, and curtain on the north had been entirely restored, and that the garrison durst not sally forth by day or night, such was their fear of the Indians. On the tenth, some Apalaches, also returning from a scout, brought in a Spaniard, but he was a galley slave, from whom no information could be obtained. Finally, on the twelfth, de Bienville came aboard the flagship with a troop of Canadians, to receive Mr. de Champmêlin's last orders, and on the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth,[2] the general signalled to weigh anchor with three King's ships, two of the Company's frigates, the Union and Philippe, and a small bark to aid in landing, in case of need.

The Western Company had recently sent to Louysiana two hundred and fifty men of the late levies; these were distributed among the King's vessels. Bienville's orders were to proceed by sloop to Rio Perdido with the soldiers and volunteers to join the Indians whom the Chevalier de Longueville[3] was to bring thither, and whom he in fact found there. Bienville then detached a body of French and Indians to harass the garrison of Pensacola, and prevent any one from leaving the fort. This was punctually carried out.

In fine, on the 15th, before sunrise, the squadron weighed anchor; and on the 16th in the evening, it an-

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[1] Bienville to the minister, Oct. 20, 1719, in Gayarré, i., p. 171. Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 21, § 5.

[2] Dumont, evidently in error, says seventh, in his Memoires, ii., p. 21.

[3] Relation de la Louisianne, p. 27–8. Dumont, ii., p. 21.

chored in seven fathoms, south of Pensacola, about two cannon-shot from the bar, as Mr. de Champmêlin wished to examine in person whether there was sufficient water on the bar for the King's ships, the two largest of which, namely, the Hercules, his flagship, and the Mars, drew nineteen feet. The Canadians declared that they would pass with ease; but several Spanish and French pilots maintained that he would not find more than eighteen feet of water. On the morning of the seventeenth the general ordered all the sloops and boats of the squadron to go and sound the bay; Mr. de Vienne, the Chevalier de Goyon and Mr. de Serigny embarked, and nowhere found less than twenty-two feet, but the tide was high and Mr. de Champmêlin still hesitated to risk the King's ships. Mr. de Serigny pledged his head that he would take them in, and the whole council of war favored the projected passage.[1]

1719.

The squadron enters the bay.

In fact, though the tide was quite low when the squadron got under weigh, it found twenty-one feet of water everywhere except in one spot, where the Hercules, by not exactly following the channel, touched slightly, but without sustaining any injury. The ships Comte de Toulouse, Maréchal de Villars, St. Louis, and a small frigate of eighteen guns, were anchored with a spring upon the cable,[2] just within the entrance of the harbor, under the guns of the fort at the point of Santa Rosa Island or Siguença, which had fourteen mounted, and nearer the shore lay seven bilanders, armed with from eight to fourteen guns. The squadron entered wind astern, with the topsails on the cap, in order to have time to cannonade the ships and fort at the point. These latter fired first on the King's ships, which showed only the bow, being obliged to wear, so that they were for a time unable to reply, but when they came within good musket-shot

Capture of the fort at the Point, and of the Spanish ships.

[1] Dumont says, p. 22, that the Hercules was piloted in by an old Canadian named Grimeau, who the next year received Letters ennobling him. Bénard de la Harpe, 161–3. Pénicaut, Relation, ch. 21, § 5, MS.

[2] With a rope made fast to the cable.

1719. of the enemy's vessels, and when to anchor with a spring on the cable would have required a starboard tack, that is, turning to the right, the fire became very warm on both sides and lasted two hours. The Spanish historian counts six hours' combat, including, apparently, all the time that his nation's ships were firing on ours; he adds that the Indians and Canadians kept firing all night on Fort San Carlos; that the fire at the entrance of the port was kept up till the fort at the point was entirely demolished, and only two frigates in fighting condition, and that which bore the Spanish general sinking; that then Mr. de Champmêlin, touched to see so many brave men perish, sent to tell Don Alphonso Carrascosa to surrender, which he did. Don Bruno also surrendered with the remnant of the garrison of the fort on the point.[1]

Fort San Carlos taken, with its garrison prisoners of war.

This done, the French general sent to summon the Governor of Pensacola to surrender as a prisoner of war with all his garrison, in default whereof, there should be no quarter for any one. Matamoros said that he would answer in two days. Mr. de Bienville, who had five hundred Indians and a hundred and fifty Canadians, had already refused to make terms with him, and he felt that if Mr. de Champmêlin allowed Bienville to storm the place, as he threatened through Mr. de Lille, his first lieutenant, he could never hold out, yet he allowed de Lille to depart without a reply; but his officers, to whom he imparted the summons, forced him to recall that officer. He told him that he surrendered, and lowered his flag. Mr. de Champmelin showed great courtesy to all the officers, and told them that he had never yet seen so gallant a defence; it was indeed conducted with great ardor and valor.[2]

[1] Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 360. Dumont and Le Page du Pratz on the contrary, say, p. 23, that the great fort San Carlos fired only one gun, and surrendered for fear of falling into the hands of Saint Denis and his Indians, who were investing him. He says the Spaniards fled between decks, and had not courage to venture out to haul down their flag.

[2] Charlevoix here generally follows Barcia, but La Harpe says, p. 163, that Champmêlin received Don Alphonso courteously, but that Matamoros was disarmed by a sailor,

1719.

The next day Mr. de Champmêlin sent his long boat with one of his officers and an officer of the Spanish general, to order the commanders of the bilanders, which had run ashore at the head of the bay, to bring them back to the port; but only French prisoners were found on board, the Spaniards having escaped to St. Joseph,[1] as a brigantine and periagua did at the commencement of the action. The same day the Spanish garrison marched out of Fort San Carlos, and the officers, disarmed, were sent on the ships; but they were allowed to retain their clothing and all private property. Mr. de Champmêlin chose to have in his vessel, the general, the Governor of Pensacola, Don Bruno Cavallero, Don Estevan Berroa, and Don Antonio Joseph Martinez.[2] But as the number of other prisoners, whom Bienville estimates at fifteen hundred, and Mr. de Serigny at twelve hundred, greatly embarrassed the squadron and would have famished it; six hundred were sent to Havana on the St. Louis. No one doubted that the enemy must have had many killed and wounded, yet only sixty in all were found, and on our side there were only six or seven.[3]

The enemy's loss.

Early in the morning of the 24th, a brigantine was perceived, which, without mistrusting, entered the port; it was commanded by Andrew Gonzales, bringing from Havana the provisions so long expected at Pensacola. Mr. Champmêlin seized it and found wherewith to relieve all his men, who needed it extremely. Gonzales was also bearer of several letters, of which the general delivered only such as he deemed proper. By the same channel, Mr. de Bienville received one from Mr. de Chateaugué, who informed him that the Governor of Havana refused to furnish provisions to him, as well as to the officers and

Cruelty of the Spaniards to the French prisoners. Mr. de Champmêlin's reprisals.

and reproached by de Champmêlin with his lack of courage, telling him that he was unfit to be an officer.

[1] Dumont, p. 24–5, charges that the Spaniards before running off laid a train so as to fire the magaine and blow up this bilander, the Gran Diablo, with the French prisoners on board.

[2] Bienville to the minister, Oct. 20, 1719. Barcia, Ensayo Cronolo gico, p. 360.

[3] The fort was given up to the Indians to plunder. Pénicaut, ch. 21.

1719. sailors who were prisoners with him, and that the latter were forced to carry stone or enlist in Spanish ships, to have wherewith to sustain life.[1] Mr. de Champmêlin bitterly reproached the Spanish General and officers with this; but he did not think it right to take any other vengeance than by treating kindly all the prisoners of their nation in his hands. He nevertheless thought it his duty to write to the Governor of Havana; he then sentenced the French taken arms in hand against the King; the most guilty were hanged, the rest condemned to the galleys.[2]

The fort at Pensacola in part demolished

The only question left was whether the fort at Pensacola should be preserved. There was no lack of soldiers to garrison it, but most of them were wretches who had deserted from the army in France, or taken by force; and past experience showed how little dependence could be placed on their fidelity. It was therefore resolved to demolish two bastions on the land side, preserving only the two facing the port, and to leave there an officer, two sergeants, twenty soldiers and twelve Indians.[3] On the third of October, the frigate Duke de Noailles arrived at Pensacola and delivered to the Count de Champmêlin letters, by which he was ordered to winter with his squadron in Louysiana, inasmuch as information had reached the Court of France that a strong squadron had left Spain for the Gulf of Mexico; but the condition in which his ships and crews were, rendered this order impracticable.

On the eleventh a Spaniard, sole survivor of the crew of a storeship of twenty-four guns, intended to revictual St. Joseph's Bay, stated that he had sailed from Vera Cruz sixteen days previously; that he had left there five men-of-war, carrying each from fifty to seventy guns; two frigates and three bilanders, with a great number of land troops, who were preparing to come and seize all the posts occupied by the French in Louysiana. On the

[1] Bienville to the minister, citing Chateaugué's letter. Gayarré, i., p. 172.

[2] Ib. Dumont, Memoires, ii., p. 26. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 165.

[3] Bienville to the minister, Oct. 20, 1719. The officer left was Lieut. Delisle, of the navy. Dumont, ii., p. 28. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 103.

13th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, a ship hove in sight, and at the same time they brought to the general another Spaniard, who had been found on Santa Rosa Island. This man told him that he had come from Vera Cruz in the ship then in sight; that he and two others had been sent ashore in the boat, which had been lost; that his comrades were drowned, and that he had escaped by swimming. Soon after, the ship fired three guns, as if to recall the boat, and the longboat was seen putting off. It landed at Point Siguença, with casks to take in water. It was captured, and those in it said that they had sailed from Vera Cruz thirty-five days before, and that their ship was loaded with stores, and a reinforcement of a hundred men for Pensacola; that the northeast wind had detained them at Dauphin Island, and that they had endeavored to take in water there, but had been prevented. 1719.

The next morning the ship, which had anchored outside the bay, fired a gun to recall its longboat, but as it did not return, she lay to where she was till eleven o'clock. But then a violent southeast wind forced her to enter and anchor. The Count de Champmêlin hoisted his flag. This ship was commanded by Don Francisco de la Peña, one of the captains of the Barlovento Fleet. As soon as he saw the French flag he lowered his, and the general sent to demand the letters which he had from the Viceroy.[1] He gave them and they confirmed all that was already known of the designs of the Spaniards. This information did not alter at all the resolution to depart which Mr. de Champmêlin had formed, as sickness was increasing in his ships. The Mars, however, had orders to remain till its crew recovered from the pestilence, which had not left the ship from the time of its arrival in America. The Maréchal de Villars and the Comte de Toulouse were not in a seaworthy condition, and were also obliged to remain.

[1] The vessel thus captured was the Chico. Barcia, p. 361. The captain threw his letters overboard, but they were recovered by a French soldier. Dumont, ii., p. 27. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 167.

1719. These arrangements made, Mr. de Champmêlin's next thought was to reward the Indians for the zeal they had displayed for the French nation since the commencement of this war. Mr. de Saint Denys, who was greatly beloved by these tribes, received orders to assemble them, and he made them chant the calumet in honor of the general, who attended with all his officers. He then addressed them in the general's name, exhorting them to remain ever attached to the French, whose superiority over their enemy they had just witnessed. When he had ended his address, presents were distributed to all in the King's name, and they were sent off highly pleased.

Presents made to the Indians

On the 21st,[1] as the squadron was about to set sail, a bilander was seen endeavoring to enter the bay, wind astern. It was seized, and the captain declared that he had cleared from Vera Cruz eighteen days before in company with a 44 gun ship, and three others of thirty, eighteen and twelve guns, and another bilander; that three ten gun ships had remained in port, the pestilence having broken out among the crews; that General Cornejo in person was in the largest ship; that it was his design to join the Governor of Pensacola, to aid him in conquering all that was still left to the French in Louysiana, and that he supposed Dauphin Island and Fort Maubile already in the power of his Catholic majesty; that moreover, a gale having separated his bilander from the squadron three days after its departure from Vera Cruz, he did not know what had become of it.

New tidings of the approach of a Spanish squadron.

This news decided Mr. de Champmêlin to remain some days longer at Pensacola, awaiting the Spanish squadron, but as it did not appear, he hoisted sail and started for France again.[2] It is probable that Cornejo, having learned by the way the capture of Pensacola, and the

De Champmêlin sails for France. Mr. de Saujon arrives.

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[1] Oct. 21 the fleet left Pensacola after burning the forts and houses, having only sub-Lieut. Terrisse with a few soldiers and Indians. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 167.

[2] With the Hercules, Mars, Triton, Union and Maréchal de Villars. Barcia, p. 363. He reached Brest, Jan. 3, 1720. After he sailed in Nov., 1719, the fort at Old Biloxi was restored. Dumont, ii., p. 34. Pénicaut, ch. 21, MS.

presence of the French fleet there still, did not deem it prudent to engage a squadron much stronger than his own. Be that as it may, de Champmêlin had scarcely sailed when the Chevalier de Saujon arrived in Louysiana with a new squadron,[1] and his presence contributed in no slight degree to prevent anything being undertaken by the Spaniards. He then wished to go to St. Joseph's Bay and capture that post; but this was not the opinion of Mr. de Bienville, who had taken possession of it the year before, and soon after abandoned it on account of its uselessness and the difficulties of defending it, or approaching it, or sheltering vessels there, and especially on account of the sterility of the country, which is adapted to no natural products. Mr. de Serigny, too, remarked that the famine which threatened the colony would prevent any delay in the departure of the Company's ships, which it was intended to use on this expedition, and on which he saw himself compelled to send back many of the people to France. Mr. de Saujon did not insist, and as there was no longer anything to detain him in America, he sailed for France.[2]

1719.

De Serigny followed soon after: he set sail June 27, 1720,[3] and on reaching Brest he learned that the King had appointed him captain of ships of the line; a reward well merited by his valor, his good conduct, and the zeal with which he had served his prince from childhood; having never been promoted to any rank in the navy till

1720.

Departure of de Serigny and arrival of two royal vessels.

[1] Laval, Voyage, p. 97; De Vallette-Laudun, Journal, p. 234. Escorting the Mutine, Capt. de Martonne, one of the Company's ships, (Dumont, ii., p. 36,) and the Duc de Noailles. (La Harpe, p. 220.) Soon after the whole establishment on Dauphin Island was removed to Old Biloxi. Dumont, p. 37. The arrival of Concessionaries and a fire at Old Biloxi, led to a new establishment at New Biloxi. Ib., p. 38–43. La Harpe, p. 220, gives as his vessels the Achille, 62; Capt. de Laujon, (Saujon); Content, 60, Capt. de Rochambeau; Mercure, 56, Capt. de Gabaret. They arrived Feb. 28, 1720.

[2] He sailed May 4th. De Vallette Laudun, Journal, p. 235. Laval, Voyage, p. 97. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 222.

[3] On the Amazon, Capt. St. Villiers, which sailed with the Victoire, la Jaille. De Vallette Laudun, p. 235. Pénicaut says with the Comte de Toulouse and Maréchal de Villars, ch. 22.

1720. he had distinguished himself by some signal action or in some important service. Three days after his departure, two of the King's vessels, the Toulouse and the Henry, which had sailed from Toulon under the command of Messrs. de Valette[1] and de Cafaro, arrived in wretched plight at the roadstead off Dauphin Island. The Jesuit Father Laval, royal professor of hydrography at the port of Toulon, was on board, having come to make observations in Louysiana, and especially to fix the longitude of the mouth of the Micissipi;[2] but the pestilence having broken out on both vessels, Mr. de Cafaro died on the voyage;[3] the chaplains were not able to attend the sick, who were very numerous; accordingly, that religious, feeling that science is only an accessory to a man of his profession, thought the duty of his ministry paramount to any good to be expected from his astronomical observations: he did not go to the Micissipi, although he was only fourteen leagues distant from it: he did not leave the crews, employing in his observations only the moments he stole from sleep. This conduct elicited high praise from the prince who presided in the Navy Council.[4]

De St. Denys at the Natchitoches.

Meanwhile, the Fort of the Natchitoches was always maintained, and some detachments of concessions had advanced in that direction, in hopes of acquiring wealth by trade with the Spaniards, a chimerical hope, which prevented their adopting surer methods of making a solid settlement elsewhere, and which finally ruined them. Towards the close of this year de Bienville received orders from court to send back Mr. de Saint Denys,[5] whom the

[1] De Vallette Laudun, author of "Journal d'un Voyage fait en 1720." La Haye, 1768. Each of 66 guns. Laval, p. 1. La Harpe, p. 223, says July 1 arrived the Comte de Toulouse, 64, Capt. de Vatet, *vice* de Cafaro, and the St. Henri, 70, Capt. Domce.

[2] Father Anthony Laval published in 1728 his Voyage de la Louisiane, 4°. Mariette, Paris.

[3] De Vallette Laudun, p. 195. Ferdinand de Caffaro, brother of the Marquis de Caffaro, (Barcia, p. 363,) died June 11. B. de la Harpe, p. 223.

[4] Chateaugué and other prisoners taken at Pensacola, were brought back to Mobile June 15. Ib. p. 224.

[5] St. Denys had settled at Biloxi with his colonists and slaves, and had commanded the Indians in the late operations. He was made, in consequence, captain in the army and Governor of Fort Natchitoches. Pénicaut, ch. 22.

King had honored with the brevet of Captain, and the Cross of Saint Louis, on the high testimony which Mr. de Champmêlin had rendered in his favor in the Council of the Navy. He set out at the commencement of the following year with a reinforcement of troops and munitions, and his wife soon joined him there. Mr. de Chateaugué, who had proceeded from Havana to France, also returned at the same time, with the rank of King's Lieutenant, and resumed command of Fort Saint Louis at Maubile. Finally, de Bienville again established the headquarters of Louysiana at Biloxi, and fixed his residence there, with the greater part of the troops and the Directors of the Company, of which he was the presiding officer. 1721.

First tidings of peace.

No further fears were entertained of the Spaniards, because from the preceding year while Mr. de Valette was still at Dauphin Island, positive information had come that two Spanish ships of sixty-six and sixty-seven guns, commanded by two commodores, and which were to join the Vera Cruz fleet to surprise Pensacola, had received counter orders at Havana, and that this change was caused by a suspension of hostilities between the two crowns. The court of Madrid feeling, no doubt, that the restitution of Pensacola would be one of the articles of the treaty of peace then negotiating, thought it needless to incur useless expense, and the result was as she had foreseen.[1]

Unsuccessful enterprise at St. Bernard Bay.

It was a favorable opportunity to establish the concessions, who did not cease to arrive from France, and who, well managed, would in a few years have peopled both banks of the Micissipi up to the Illinois; but the sole aim of the Directors of the Company was to get near the Spaniards, and prevent their settling in our vicinity. This same year de Bienville formed the design of secur-

[1] Pensacola was restored to the Spaniards in Dec., 1722. Alexander Wauchop, an Irish officer who had reached the rank of captain of a frigate, arrived there Nov. 26 in the frigate Grande Holandesa to take possession. Charlevoix, Journal, p. 481; La Harpe withdrew the French garrison to Mobile. Journal, pp. 346–7.

1721. ing St. Bernard's or Saint Louis Bay, but he did not select the right man for the enterprise. This man entered the Magdalen River, which he met on his way, and ascended it five or six leagues. He found the Indians on their guard all along, resolved not to suffer any strangers in their country. He told them that he came to form an alliance with them, and to improve their condition, but they answered that they were satisfied as they were, and preferred their liberty to all the advantages offered them. The officer, however, found means to allure some of their chief men on board, where he retained them. He at once set sail and brought them to Biloxi. De Bienville sharply censured this treacherous act, and sent the Indians home; but the next year he learned that the Spaniards from Vera Cruz had built a fort in Saint Bernard's Bay.[1]

Towards the end of May, 1722,[2] a Spanish brigantine, carrying twenty-two guns and two hundred and fifty men,

[1] The Viceroy of New Spain, in June, 1718, sent Don Dionisio Perez Ballones to occupy Espiritu Santo, or St. Bernard's Bay; (see Charlevoix, Jour., p. 452,) but he was unable to enter the channel. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 342. The West India Company was very urgent in its orders to occupy the bay, and the King, Nov. 16, 1718, issued an order, but the colonial authorities merely sent a coaster under Berranger to explore it. La Harpe, p. 233, 235. On the 10th of August, 1721, Bienville sent La Harpe in the Subtile, Capt. Berranger, with 20 soldiers to occupy it. Ordres, &c. Ib., p. 257. He entered a bay at 28° 20,′ Aug. 27, (p. 263,) and took off nine natives, (p. 275.) Pénicaut, ch. xxiii. The real St. Bernard's, or Espiritu Santo, was occupied by Martin de Alarcon in 1718. Ib., 275. For the Spanish occupation, see Don Juan Antonio de la Peña, Diario del Viage del Marques de San Miguel, MS.; Bonilla, Compendio de los Succesos ocuridos en Texas, MS.; Morfi, Historia de Texas, MS. We here lose Pénicaut, who sailed to France Oct. 3, 1721, to obtain medical treatment for his eyes, and a pension for his relief after 22 years' services.

[2] Barcia cites among his authorities, Situacion del Presidio de Santa Maria de Galve, escrita por su Gobernador, el Coronel Don Juan Pedro Matamoros, MS. Diario de lo acaecido en las Perdidas y Restauracion del Presidio de Santa Maria, Prision, y Libertad de los Españoles, desde el dia 14 de Maio de 1719, hasta 3 de Junio de 1720, by the same, and Relacion de la Expedicion, hecha por los Franceses en el Puerto y Presidios de Santa Maria de Galve a Pençacola y Restauracion por las Armas de España, &c., escrita por Don Alfonso Carrascosa de la Torre. Barcia's work was printed July, 1722, and has nothing as to the restoration of Pensacola.

arrived from Vera Cruz at Biloxi. It was commanded by Don Agustin Spinola, and brought over the Sieur Walcop,[1] an Irishman, captain of a man-of-war in the service of the King of Spain, as bearer of the treaty of peace concluded between France and the Catholic King, one of the articles of which restored Pensacola to the Spanish crown. This peace was celebrated at Biloxi, where I was at the time, with great demonstrations of joy, apparently very sincere on both sides.[2] 1722. Pensacola restored to Spain.

As soon as the brigantine set sail again, that is to say, towards the middle of June, they began transferring to New Orleans all the goods in the Western Company's storehouses at Biloxi, because the Council had ordered the headquarters to be established there, only a detachment with an officer to remain at Biloxi. The troops had already begun their march to the capital, but all did not follow the route assigned to them. A company of Swiss, with their captain at their head, having embarked in a small coaster with a quantity of provisions and munitions, steered with ensigns spread towards Carolina, where they were very well received. Only two officers with a sergeant and some women remained in Louysiana, and even their clothes had been carried off by the others.[3] Headquarters transferred to New Orleans.

This was not the only desertion by which the English colonies as well as Havana profited.[4] Louysiana, accord-

[1] Alexander Wauchop. La Harpe, p. 325. Charlevoix in his Journal, p. 481, says a brigantine of 14 guns, 150 men. The Wauchops, though officers of the Irish Brigade, were Scotch. Bourke's regiment, commanded by Francis Wauchop, passed from the French to the Spanish service in 1715. See O'Callaghan, Irish Brigade, pp. 151–2; Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation, p. 193.

[2] Charlevoix, Journal, p. 481. Charlevoix arrived at New Orleans Jan'y 5th, 1722. Journal, p. 438: La Harpe's date (p. 285,) is evidently wrong. Although the Mercure had represented New Orleans as containing 800 houses, he found a hundred rude huts, a storehouse, and two or three good houses. During his stay he effected a reconciliation between Bienville and Hubert, the Commissaire Ordonnateur. La Harpe, p. 287.

[3] June 12, the Swiss company, commanded by Mr. Brandt in the absence of Capt. Wouverdelik, while in the Elizabeth rose against the captain, Lasou, and forced him to take them to Havana; Bénard de la Harpe, p. 331; but they really reached Carolina; the Spaniards refusing to receive them, p. 348. Charlevoix, Journal, p. 483.

[4] The garrison of Fort Toulouse among the Alibamons mutinied,

1722. ingly, declined daily, and it was high time to send from France wherewith to repair its losses. The English, on their side, enriched by our spoils, and informed of our weakness, thought it a favorable opportunity to regain our Indians, who had handled them so roughly. The first whom they attempted were the Tchactas (Choctaws), exaggerating our poverty, to persuade them that they need expect nothing in future from us, and making them the most alluring offers if they would renounce our alliance and join them.

English Intrigues.

Fidelity of the Choctaws.

It was a great temptation for Indians, partly convinced by their own eyes of what was told them, and only too conscious that our last successes had produced no solid result. It is moreover certain, that if this nation, the most numerous in all Louysiana, had been gained by the bait of the proffered advantages, all our other allies would have followed their example, more especially as those who were most attached to us were not in a condition to stem the torrent; but the Choctaws, on this occasion, displayed a disinterestedness and a fidelity of which the most civilized nations cannot always boast; they themselves informed de Bienville of the proposals made to them, and that commandant found them in a disposition towards the French from which he thought he could expect everything.

Cause of the desertions.

The English were not, however, unanimous in regard to the great number of French taking refuge among them. Some even possibly feared to see them multiply too rapidly in their colonies; it is at least certain that the Governor of Carolina, writing to Mr. de Bienville, to inform him of the arrival of the Sieur Brandt[1] and his Swiss company, advised him to inform the court of

killed their captain, Marchand, and started for Carolina, but were pursued by Sieur Villemont with a party of Indians, and nearly all killed. Gayarré, i., p. 181.

[1] Bienville to the Minister, 1 Feb., 1723. Gayarré, i., p. 198. This year, June 4, 250 Germans arrived under the Swedish Chevalier d'Arensbourg, sent out by John Law to settle on his Concession on the Arkansas. After his fall they came down and settled near New Orleans. New Orleans was laid out by the Sieur le Blond de la Tour, Brigadier and Chevalier of St. Louis, the chief of a troop of engineers sent over. Dumont, ii., pp. 39, 46. La Harpe, p. 251.

France of this great disorder, which would infallibly soon draw down utter ruin on his colony. But all that happened should have been anticipated; that colony having been settled almost entirely by people sent over by force, or Concessionaries who did not find there what they had been led to expect; for soon the only thought of either was to get out of it; numbers died of misery or disease, and the country was emptied as rapidly as it had filled. 1722.

For their part, the deserters everywhere adduced the necessity to which they were driven, of providing for themselves elsewhere, by the refusal to give them the very necessaries of life. Some even wrote to the Regisseurs of Louysiana [1] in terms that showed how much the step they had just taken cost them; and this was still more clearly evinced by what happened in the month of August of this same year. One Duclos, commanding a coaster with a very rich cargo, was met by a party of these deserters, who merely took from him some provisions and liquors, without touching his merchandise. On his expressing his surprise, they replied that they were not robbers, but decent men, whom necessity forced to seek life in other nations, since their own let them perish with hunger. The most malcontent were the soldiers, who received absolutely nothing but bread, while meat was distributed to the Company's workmen, and even to the criminals, who were quite frequently employed by the settlers.

Hurricane and its effects.

To crown the misfortunes, on the 12th of September, at ten in the evening, there rose on the Micissipi a hurricane, which lasted in all its fury till noon on the following day, and was felt as far as Natchez in one direction, and Biloxi in the other. At New Orleans, the church, hospital and thirty houses or log huts were thrown down; all the other edifices were injured. No lives were lost, but some of the sick in the hospital were wounded. A number

[1] On the 15th of April in the preceding year, the King had by an Arrêt appointed four Commissaries, all Councillors of State for the Regimen of Louysiana and the Western Company, and the rendering of the accounts. *Charlevoix.* Two Commissaries, du Sausoy and de la Chaise, arrived in the Venus in 1722.

1722. of boats, periaguas, canoes and sloops were crushed in the port; three ships anchored there were very much damaged, and found themselves high ashore on the bank of the river, which had risen eight feet. In the settlements above and below the city there was not a building standing. Biloxi suffered even more; all the houses and stores were overthrown, and as the sea overflowed its bounds, a part of that post was inundated. The coasters which were in the roadstead were driven on the islands, or on the mainland. There was even one, the captain of which alone escaped with a cabin boy, having spent twenty-four hours on the yard-arm; the rest of the crew were drowned. Several periaguas, coming down to New Orleans loaded with provisions and poultry, were wrecked. The vegetables that were mature were destroyed, and the continual rains which came on spoiled a good part of what was still green.[1]

The Chickasaws ask peace.

Meanwhile, the war with the Chicachas (Chickasaws) still continued, although it was confined to some surprises,[2] which compelled travellers to proceed with caution. These Indians even themselves were the first to grow weary of it at a time when they might have given us great trouble. Two Canadians, father and son, having fallen into their hands, were well treated by them, and the chiefs begged them to write to de Bienville that if he would restore them to favor, they would release the prisoners at once. They did more, they proceeded to the Sieur de Grave, commandant at the Yazoos, presented the calumet to him, and solicited peace, which he did not deem it wise to refuse.

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[1] Dumont, Memoires, ii., p. 48–50. Le Page du Pratz, i., 174. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 339. After laying out New Orleans, la Tour and de Pauget, his second engineer, in 1722 built a fort on piles at the Balize, to guard the entrance and aid the shipping. Ib., pp. 57–9. La Tour died soon after. Ib., p. 114. See Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 159. This balize was swept away into the river, and a new one built by Ulloa in 1768. Louisiana Hist. Coll., v., p. 29, n.

[2] They surprised Sergeant Riter and his family near the Yazoo post. Dumont, pp. 84. This author calls it the first Indian hostility against the French. See La Harpe, p. 305, 330. Le Page du Pratz, ii., p. 282–7.

1722.

But the colony, though relieved as far as this tribe was concerned, not only the bravest in all Louysiana, but also the most to be feared in consequence of its relations with the English, soon saw that it could depend on the fidelity of the Natchez only so long as they kept on their guard against that naturally treacherous nation. In fact, these savages no sooner perceived that the French, engaged in other affairs, paid less attention to their doings, than they renewed their outrages, and displayed all their ill will, of which it will be soon seen the authorities were not sufficiently on their guard.

Hostilities of the Natchez.

At the same time sad tidings came from the Illinois. Mr. de Boisbriand, warned that the (Illinois) of the Rock and of Pimiteouy were besieged by the Foxes, had embarked with the Chevalier d'Artaguette and the Sieur du Tisné, both captains, several other officers and a detachment of a hundred men, to hasten to their deliverance, and had ordered forty Frenchmen and four hundred Indians to march by land to Pimiteouy and await him there; but when each division had got about half way, they learned that the Foxes had retreated with a loss of more than a hundred and twenty of their men. This success did not, however, prevent the Illinois, although they had lost only about twenty men, with some women and children, from leaving the Rock and Pimiteouy, where they were kept in constant alarm, and proceeding to unite with those of their brethren who had settled on the Micissipi; this was a stroke of grace for most of them, the small number of missionaries preventing their supplying so many towns, scattered far apart; but on the other side, as there was nothing to check the raids of the Foxes along the Illinois River, communication between Louysiana and New France became much less practicable.

The Illinois all unite on the Micissipi.

Some time after they received a very severe check from the Sieur de Saint Ange, the officer at Fort Chartres in the Illinois, who, having drawn a large body of them into a kind of ambuscade, cut them almost all to pieces; other less numerous bands met the same fate soon after; but

1722. their fury increased as their forces diminished, and communicated it so fully to the new enemies they raised up against us, that the whole course and neighborhood of the Micissipi was infested with Indians with whom we had never had any difficulty, and who gave no quarter to any French whom they could well surprise or attack.

The Natchez make peace with the French.

Several Natchez came out openly against us,[1] and what most embarrassed de Bienville was the fact that the brother of the Great Chief was at their head. To make a lasting arrangement with this nation, it would have been necessary to have this man, who was the author of all the evil, given up to the Governor by his own brother, and there was no way to drive the latter to it. The wisdom and firmness of the Sieur Delietto, who commanded at that post, extricated de Bienville from this difficulty. That commandant so adroitly worked on the mind of the Great Chief, as to bring him to resolve to go in person and put his brother at the discretion of the general, who, on his side, generously pardoned an humbled enemy and gained him. Great marks of confidence were given on both sides, and this good understanding would to all appearance have been durable, had Mr. Delietto lived longer. He was already dead when I reached Natchez at the close of the year 1722, and the good understanding, it seemed to me, was still perfect between the French and Indians. A little more distrust and precaution on the side of the former, would undoubtedly have deprived the latter of the very thought of regarding them differently, and prevented the evils of which we shall soon speak.

[1] A quarrel arose between a sergeant and some Indians about a debt, and the guard in trying to restore peace, killed a chief's son and wounded some others. Bénard de la Harpe, p. 343. Le Page du Pratz, i., p. 180–3. To avenge this, Guenote, one of the Directors of the St. Catharine Concession at Natchez, was wounded, and la Rochelle, a soldier, murdered. Dumont, ii., pp. 94–5. Troops were sent up under the Sieur Payon, in four batteaux; but the Stung Serpent, then Great Chief, fined three villages to make reparation. These villages in retaliation began killing the cattle and horses of the settlers. Bienville went up with a French and Indian force, but after a fight at one cabin, the Natchez of the Apple Village fled, and Bienville burnt the town, which stood near Second Creek. On their giving the heads of Old Hair, chief of the Apple Village, and of a negro, Bienville made peace. Ib., ii., pp. 96–113. Le Page du Pratz, i., pp. 197–206.

BOOK XXII.

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1723.

Introduction of the Capuchin Fathers into Louysiana.

It is not easy to say what had hitherto prevented their affording the colonists settled in the different parts of Louysiana the spiritual succors so necessary to new settlements, even on the ground of sound policy. However, on my return from America in the commencement of the year 1723, I found the court and the Company equally surprised at the destitution in which I showed this rising colony to be in this essential point, and the Directors of the Company made it their most pressing duty to remedy this great disorder. They cast their eyes on the Capuchin Fathers, and having obtained several, distributed them in the quarters where there were the greatest number of French dwellings.[1]

Missionaries to the Indians thought of.

It was no less important to have missionaries among the Indians amid whom we were settled. We have seen that the salvation of these tribes was always the main object which our kings kept in view before all else, wherever they extended their dominion in the New World, and the experience of nearly two centuries had taught us that the surest means of binding the natives of the country to us,

[1] In 1724 Bienville received orders to return to France; Mr. de la Tour to take command till Mr. de Boisbriant, Governor ad interim, returned from Illinois. He embarked on the Bellona in 1725, but she sank in the Trou du Major; he then went in the Gironde. Before going, Bienville in March published the celebrated "Code Noir," or "Black Code." See it in Gayarré, i., p. 203; Louisiana Hist. Coll., iii., p. 89. Bienville presented a memoir in his defence: Gayarré, i., p. 219; but was removed, as was his brother Chateaugué, King's Lieutenant, while Captain and Ensign de Noyan, his nephews, were cashiered and sent to France, p. 221.

1725. was to gain them to Christ. Nor could it moreover be unknown that even independent of the fruit which the evangelical laborers might produce among them, the mere presence of a man, venerable by his office, understanding their language, able to observe their conduct, and able by gaining the confidence of some to learn their designs, is often better than a garrison, or may at least supply its place, and give the governors time to take steps to defeat their plots. The example of the Illinois, who had since 1717 been incorporated with the government of Louysiana, was sufficient to show how important it was not to leave the other nations any longer without missionaries.[1]

Jesuits sent. The India Company saw this, and in the year 1725 applied to the Jesuits, a great number of whom offered themselves for this new mission. But as the Superiors could not grant permission to all to devote themselves to it, and there were not enough to give some to all the tribes, the commandant and directors thought best to place the first who arrived in positions where there were no Capuchins, whence it happened that the Natchez, the very people whom it was most important to enlighten, had none, and the fault thus committed was not perceived till it was irreparable.[2]

Ursulines. Provision was at the same time made for the education of the young French girls at the capital and its vicinity, by bringing over Ursulines from France; and to avoid multiplying establishments in a colony which scarcely be-

[1] Chicagou, chief of the Illinois, and some chiefs of the Missouris, Osages and Otoptatas went to France in 1725. Father de Beaubois presented them to the India Company. Postman, London, Jan. 27, 1726. See Dumont, ii., pp. 74–78; Bossu, i., p. 161–2.

[2] After Fathers du Ruand Dongé, (ante, iv., p. 129, n.,) came F. Joseph de Limoges, who entered the order Sept. 24, 1686, came over in 1698, founded a Baiogoula mission, and returned to France in 1703. Martin's list in Carayon; Jouvency, Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 223. Under the arrangement now made, F. Nicholas de Beaubois, who had been some years in Illinois, became Superior, and was joined in 1726, by FF. Paul du Poisson, Mathurin le Petit, John Dumas, and John Souel; and in 1727 by FF. Alexis de Guyenne, René Tartarin, and Stephen d'Outreleau. Martin's List. Of the labors of this Jesuit mission, we have only the Letters of du Poisson, and le Petit in the Lettres Edifiantes, (Kip's Jes. Missions, pp. 29, &c.); a few letters in the Louisiana Documents, and the Banissement

gan to take form, these same religious were entrusted with the care of the hospital.[1] 1726.

In the month of October, 1726, Mr. Perrier, lieutenant of a ship of the line, was appointed Commandant-General of Louysiana[2] in place of Mr. de Bienville, who returned to France. Although everything seemed quiet in the country, the new commandant soon saw the necessity of having more troops than he found there. The better he knew the Indians, the more convinced he became that they could never be made permanent allies till we had securely prevented their being our enemies, and that our neighbors could be delivered from the temptation of urging them to conspire against us, only by garrisoning all the posts in such a way as to have no fear of them. Nevertheless, I do not find that he pressed the Company to send him any reinforcements before the year 1729; but in the month of August of that year, he asked for two or three hundred good soldiers.

Perrier Commandant-General of Louysiana.

It was somewhat late; nevertheless, he not only did not obtain what he asked, but in one of his letters of March 18th, in the following year, he complains that in their answer they charge him with wishing an increase of troops only to have more men under his command, or to

He asks aid in vain.

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des Jésuites de la Louisiane," published by F. Carayon, Paris, 1865. There is a contemporary tribute to them in the "Relation de la Louisiane ou Mississippi écrite à une Dame par un officier de Marine," in Voyages au Nord, v., p. 25. Of the Capuchin mission there is no published account.

[1] See Treaty with Ursulines, Sept. 13, 1726. Gayarré, i., p. 223. For Brevet of King, Sept. 18, 1726, and an account of the first nuns, see Tranchepain, Relation du Voyage des Premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orleans et de leur etablissement en cette ville, New York, 1859. Life of St. Angela Merici, p. 200–219. They reached New Orleans Aug. 7, 1727.

[2] Perrier had distinguished himself in reducing Fort d'Arguin in Africa. Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 325. This author, as well as Dumont, eulogizes him, ii., pp. 123–5. See his Instructions. Gayarré, i., p. 224. He was made Lieut.-Gen'l for his services against the Natchez. Le Page du Pratz, iii., 325. This year copper coin, struck for Louisiana, was made current, and not only legal tender, but any stipulation for payment in gold or silver made penal. Edict, Oct. 31, 1726. Gayarré, i., p. 228. This copper coin bore on one side two L en sautoir, and on the other, Colonies Françoises. It was struck at Rochelle. Dumont, ii., p. 55. For an account of the paper money previously issued, see Ib., p. 54.

1726. make war and distinguish himself at the expense of the Company. But when he received this letter, he had only too strong evidence to disprove these insulting suspicions, in an event which soon changed the minds of those whose advice had been taken rather than his. In the letter just mentioned, and written from New Orleans, he says: "I have not been astonished that the Company has been assured that troops are not needed in Louysiana, or presents for the Indians, to retain them as our allies; nevertheless, I have seen the men who maintained this absurdity, trembling to the very marrow of their bones, although there is less to be feared here than elsewhere."

In another letter, dated April 1st, in the same year, he adds one thing, which shows that he knew the Indians better than those who boasted most of their knowledge of them. Speaking of these Indians, he says: "We are sure of retaining their good will as long as we give them what they wish; but as they feel that we need them, they multiply their wants in such a way that the English and ourselves are the dupes of these savages, who are much less so than we." What he proceeds to say, that we shall not make them what they ought to be, till after we have thoroughly defeated them, is not, however, true, except when they have given grounds for so treating them; for nothing embitters them more than to make war on them without cause; but there are other means of controlling them. Mr. Perrier was not ignorant of them; and in fact remarks very justly in his previous letter, that the war in which he was engaged had convinced him that to escape the importunity of the Indians, who are always begging, you need only to pretend to do without them. "It is," says he, "the means to make them all wish to follow us. Then, if they are not satisfied, we can tell them that they were not invited. Although it is necessary to bind them to us by presents to avoid war, you must never so far reckon on their fidelity as to think yourself safe from insult."

However, both those who depreciated Perrier with the Company, and Perrier himself, either did not know or did not sufficiently consider that Christianity alone can avert

from us the dangers to be apprehended from the Indians. The former judged of the Louysiana Indians by those of Canada, where we have seen the Abénaquis and all the Indians domiciliated in that colony enter zealously and heartily, often very disinterestedly, into all that was asked of them, and they did not consider that Christianity alone had brought them to this disposition; the Commandant-General, who had never known any Indians except those whom he had to deal with, did not sufficiently understand that religion, if they could be made to appreciate our Holy Mysteries, would gradually correct the faults of which he complained. 1726.

Be that as it may, the tranquillity enjoyed in Louysiana since peace had been granted to the Natchez and Chickasaws, was but a delusive calm which lulled the inhabitants, while there was gathering around them a storm, whose most disastrous effects were averted only by mere chance, saving the country from becoming in a single day the tomb of all the French; but which was fatal indeed to those on whom it burst, and who had no time to shield themselves from it.

Indian conspiracy against the French.

For several years past the Chickasaws, at the instigation of some English,[1] had formed the design of so extirpating the whole colony of Louysiana, that not a single Frenchman should remain. They had managed their scheme with such secrecy that the Illinois, the Acansas and the Tonicas, to whom they had not ventured to impart it, aware of their tried attachment to us, had not the slightest suspicion. All the other tribes joined it; each was to fall on all the settlers marked out for it, and all were to strike the same day and the same hour. Even the Tchactas, (Choctaws,) the most numerous nation on this continent, and at all times our allies, had been won over, at least those on the east, who are called the Great Nation; those on the west, or Little Nation, had taken no part in it, but the conspirators long preserved the se-

[1] As to English intrigues, see 1727. Gayarré, i., p. 232. Baron Perrier to the Minister, Nov. 15, to the same, Ib., p. 254.

1729. cret, and it was only by chance that they discovered it, when already too late to warn all the settlers.

How it was thwarted. Perrier, learning that the former had had some difficulty with Diron d'Artaguette, King's-lieutenant and commandant at Fort Maubile, invited the chiefs of the whole nation to meet him at New Orleans, with the prospect of giving them complete satisfaction as to all their complaints. They came, and after explanations given by them on the matter which had summoned them, they told the Commandant-General that the nation was delighted at his sending an officer to reside in their country, and at his inviting them to come and see him. They said no more, but returned strongly inclined: 1st. To break their word with the Chickasaws, to whom they had promised to destroy all the settlements depending on Fort Maubile. 2nd. To act so as to enable the Natchez to execute their project. This the Natchez have since reproached them to their face in presence of the French, without their venturing to deny it. We have never doubted that their design was to force us to call upon them, and by this means, profit by what we would give them to secure their co-operation, and by the booty they would take from the Natchez.

Treachery of the Choctaws and confidence of the French. The Commandant-General was thus unconsciously on the point of seeing one portion of the colony destroyed by enemies whom he did not mistrust, and betrayed by allies on whom he supposed he could depend, and who were in fact one of his great resources, but who wished to profit by our misfortunes. Moreover, it was all the easier for those whom the Chickasaws had won over, to succeed in their project, as no French settlement had any defence against a surprise and sudden attack. There were forts indeed, in some places, but except that at Maubile, they were only stockades, two thirds of which were decayed, and had they been in a state of defence, they could protect from the fury of the Indians only a small number of the nearest dwellings. Everywhere, too, men lay in perfect security, which would have enabled these savages to massacre all the French, even in the best-guarded places,

as happened on the 28th of November at the Natchez, in the manner about to be described: 1729.

All those settled at Natchez killed or taken by the Indians.

Mr. de Chepar, who commanded at that post, had some little difficulty with the Indians;[1] but they apparently carried their dissimulation so far as to persuade him that the French had no more faithful allies. He was in fact so little distrustful, that when on the 27th a vague rumor spread that the Natchez were plotting something against us, he put in irons seven settlers who had come to ask his permission to assemble and take up arms to prevent a surprise.[2] He even carried his confidence so far as to receive thirty Indians into the fort, and as many in and around his house. The others were scattered in the houses of the settlers and the workshops of the mechanics, two or three leagues above and below their village.

The day set for the execution of the general plot had not yet come, but two things induced the Natchez to anticipate it. The first was the arrival just then of some batteaux well stocked with goods for the garrison of that and the Yazoo post, as well as for several settlers, and that they wished to seize them before they were distributed; the second was, that the commandant had received a visit from the Messrs Kolly, father and son, whose concession was at no great distance, and from several other persons of consequence, for they saw at once that by pretending to get up a hunt, to furnish Mr. de Chepar wherewith to regale his guests, they could all arm without exciting any suspicion. They made the proposal to the commandant, who accepted it cheerfully, and they at once proceeded to trade with the settlers to obtain guns, balls and powder, which they paid for on the spot.

[1] Dumont writes Chopart. Le Page du Pratz, Chépart.

The little difficulty consisted in his seizing one Indian's ground and cabin, and then ordering the Great Sun to abandon their great village, which he wished for his own use. Dumont, ii., p. 131. Le Page, iii., p. 232.

[2] Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 253. Dumont mentions only two, Macé and Papin, ii., p. 140. Le Page du Pratz says that the first put in irons was a soldier, sent by the Female Sun, Bras Piqué, a strong friend of the French, to warn Chépart, iii., p. 242–253.

1729. This done, early on Monday, the 28th, they scattered through the dwellings, announcing that they were about to start for the hunt, careful to outnumber the French everywhere. They then sang the calumet in honor of the commandant and his company, after which each returned to his post, and a moment later, at a signal of three musket-shots fired successively at the door of Chepar's quarters,[1] they began the massacre at the same time everywhere. The commandant and the Kollys were the first killed; there was no resistance except at the house of Mr. de la Loire des Ursins,[2] Chief Commissary of the India Company, where there were eight men.[3] They fought well; eight Natchez were killed there, and six Frenchmen, the other two escaped. Mr. de la Loire had just mounted his horse; at the first noise he heard, he endeavored to return to his house, but was intercepted by a party of Indians, against whom he held out for some time, till he fell dead, pierced by many wounds, after killing four Natchez. Thus these savages lost at this point twelve men; but that was all their treachery cost them.[4]

Before executing their plot, they had made sure of several negroes, among whom were two commanders. These had persuaded the rest that under the Indians they would be free; that our women and children should become their slaves, and that there was nothing to fear from the French of the other posts, as the massacre would be carried out simultaneously everywhere. It seems, however, that the secret had been confided only to a small number, for fear of its taking wind. Be that as it may, two hundred men perished in this way almost in an instant. Of all the French who were at this post, the

[1] Chopart's house is said to have been just below Fort Rosalie, on a point jutting out into the river. Louisiana Historical Collections, v., p. 71.

[2] The eldest of the brothers, mentioned in the preceding Book. He had been in command at Natchez. The unfortunate appointment of his successor, enabled the Natchez to succeed. Perrier to the Minister, Mar. 18, 1730. Gayarré, i., p. 242.

[3] Dumont says three men and one woman.

[4] Le Page, iii., pp. 255–6. Dumont, ii., pp. 134–144, says that Chopart was not killed till late; as the Natchez nobles despised him, they sent a Puant chief to brain him with a club.

most populous of all, only about twenty escaped, and five or six negroes,[1] most of them wounded. One hundred and fifty children, eighty women, and almost as many negroes, were taken.[2] The Jesuit Father du Poisson and Mr. du Codere, commandant at the Yazoos, who happened to be at the Natchez, also perished. 1729.

The former had started from his Arkansas mission for some business that required his presence at New Orleans. He arrived at the Natchez quite late on the 26th, intending to set out again the next day, after saying mass. Unfortunately for him, the Capuchin father, who exercised parochial functions at that place, was absent, and Father du Poisson was requested to sing high mass and preach, it being the first Sunday of Advent, and he consented. In the afternoon, as he was on the point of embarking, he was informed that there were some sick persons at the point of death; he attended them, administered the last sacraments to some, and deferred one till next day, as his case was not so urgent, and it was already quite late. The next day he said mass, and then carried the Viaticum to the sick man, to whom he had promised it, and it was after performing this duty of charity that he was encountered by a chief, who seized him around the body, threw him to the ground, and chopped off his head with an axe. Mr. du Codere, who happened to be near, had already drawn his sword to defend him, when another Indian, whom he had not seen, shot him down.[3]

During this massacre, the Sun, or Great Chief of the Natchez, was calmly seated under the tobacco shed of the India Company. The head of the commandant was first brought to him, then those of the leading Frenchmen,

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[1] Dumont, Mem., ii., pp. 148–152.

[2] They killed Madame Papin, Mme Macé, and some others. Dumont, ii., p. 153. Dumont's wife was taken, and his account is based in part on her statements.

[3] Lettres Edifiantes—Kip's Jesuit Missions, pp. 286–7. Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 257. Father Paul du Poisson belonged to the Province of Champagne, and had entered the order in 1712. He came to Louisiana in 1726, and was killed at Natchez, Nov. 28, 1729. F. Martin's List in Carayon's Chaumonot, pp. 207, 214.

1729. which he caused to be arranged around the first; then all the others in heaps. The bodies were left unburied, to be devoured by the dogs and birds of prey. These savages spared only two Frenchmen, who might be of some service to them; one was a tailor, and the other a carpenter.[1] They did not ill treat the negro and Indian slaves who surrendered without offering any resistance; but they ripped up the pregnant women, and butchered almost all those who had children at the breast, because they annoyed them by their cries and tears. All the other women were made slaves, and treated with the utmost indignity.

As soon as they were sure that there were no more men left in the country, they began to plunder the houses, stores, and the boats in the port. The best treated of all were the negroes, because they wished to sell them to the English in Carolina; and to dispel any hope the women and other slaves might entertain of ever recovering their liberty, they assured them that what had just occurred before their eyes, had happened all through the colony, and that not a single Frenchman was left in Louysiana, where the English would at once come to take their place. Some had, nevertheless, escaped to the woods, where they suffered greatly from cold and hunger. There was one who at night ventured to come out, in order to warm himself at a house which he saw. As he approached, he heard the voices of Indians, and deliberated whether to enter; he made up his mind at last to do so, preferring a violent and speedier death to the slower one which seemed inevitable in his actual condition. But he was agreeably surprised by the welcome the Indians gave him. They were Yazoos, who, after comforting him, gave him food and covering, as well as a periagua to escape to New Orleans. Their chief even commissioned him to assure Mr. Perrier that he had nothing to fear from his tribe, which would always remain faithfully attached to the French, and that he was about to start with his troop to warn all the

[1] Dumont says le Beau, a tailor, and Mayeux a carter, (chartier,) whom they employed in removing the French goods to their village, ii., pp. 155–6. Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 260 corresponds.

French whom he might meet coming down the river, to be on their guard.[1] 1729.

This man found the capital in great alarm; news of the massacre had already reached it by the first who had escaped, and great fear was entertained for the French settlers among the Yazoos. On his testimony they were somewhat relieved, but this did not last long. On the 11th of December, the Jesuit Father Souel, who was missionary to the Yazoos, then mingled in the same village with the Corrois and Offogoulas, when returning in the evening from visiting the chief of the Yazoos, received several musket-shots as he was crossing a river, and expired on the spot. His murderers at once ran to his cabin to plunder it. His negro, recently baptized, and who lived quite piously, attempted to defend himself with a woodcutter's knife, and even wounded an Indian, but he was at once pierced with thrusts. The same happens at the Yazoos.

Father Souel was much beloved by these Indians, but they rebelled at his constantly reproaching them with the infamous sin which brought destruction on Sodom, and to which they were greatly addicted; and there is every probability that this was the main cause of his death; for although the Yazoos and Corrois had already resolved to exterminate all the French, the very men who had slain the missionary reproached themselves with his death as soon as their blood cooled. They however soon recovered their natural ferocity, and began to cry that as the Chief of the Prayer was dead, no Frenchman must be spared. Causes of the death of Father Souel.

Early the next morning they proceeded to the fort, which was only a league from their village. On seeing them approach it was supposed that they were coming to chant the calumet to the Chevalier des Roches, who commanded in the absence of du Codere; for although it Fidelity of the Offogoulas.

[1] For this massacre, the contemporary accounts are Perrier's dispatch, March 18, 1730, in Gayarré, i., pp. 242–251. Father le Petit to Father d'Avaugour, July 12, 1730, in the Lettres Edifiantes—Kip's Jesuit Missions, pp. 265–312. Carayon, Documents Inédits, xiv., pp. 23–4. Adair, History of American Indians, pp. 353–4.

1729. is only forty leagues by water and fifteen by land from the Natchez to the Yazoos, no information had reached the latter post of what had occurred nearly a fortnight before in the former. The Indians were accordingly allowed to enter the fort, and when it was least expected, they rushed on the French, who were only seventeen in all; they had not even time to attempt to defend themselves, and not one escaped. These savages spared the lives only of four women and five children, whom they made slaves. One of Father Souel's murderers at once put on his cassock, and in this attire proceeded to announce to the Natchez the massacre of all the French settlers on their river.[1] The Corrois joined them in this expedition. The Offogoulas were then on a hunt; on their return they were strongly urged to enter the plot; but they steadily refused, and withdrew to the Tonicas, whom they knew to be of all the Indians the most inviolably attached to the French.

A missionary attacked by the Yazoos and saved almost miraculously.

Some suspicion of this last calamity was already entertained at New Orleans, when the arrival of the Jesuit Father Doutreleau,[2] missionary to the Illinois, dispelled all further doubts. This religious had taken the period of his Indians' winter hunt to come down to the capital, and there arrange some affairs connected with his mission. On the first day of the year 1730, he wished to say mass at Father Souel's, being ignorant of his death; but as he feared that he would not get there till after noon, he resolved to celebrate the Holy Mysteries at the mouth of the Yazoo River. While he was making ready, a periagua of Indians arrived at the same spot; when asked to what nation they belonged, they replied that they were

1730.

[1] Father le Petit to Father d'Avaugour, July 12, 1730, in the Lettres Edifiantes—Kip's Jesuit Missions, pp. 289–290; Carayon, Documents Inédits, xiv., p. 23. Dumont, Memoires, ii., pp. 163–4. Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 264. Father John Souel belonged to the Province of Champagne, arrived in 1726, and was killed December 11, 1729.

[2] Father Stephen d'Outreleau was born Oct. 11, 1693, entered the Society in the Province of Champagne July 27, 1715, came to Louisiana in 1727, and returned to France in 1747. Martin in Carayon, Doc. Inédits, xiv., pp. 121, 128.

Yazoos, friends of the French, and at the same time they cordially offered provisions to the companions of the. missionary. A moment after, the latter perceived some wild geese flying overhead; the Canadians never resist the temptation of firing when they see game; these voyageurs had only two guns loaded; they fired both at the geese, and as the father was all vested to begin mass, they did not think of reloading. 1730.

The Indians noted it well, and took their places be hind the French, as if they wished to hear the mass, although they were not Christians. As the priest was saying the Kyrie eleison, they fired. Father Doutreleau feeling himself wounded in the right arm, and seeing one of his men fall dead at his feet, knelt down to receive in that posture the death-blow, which seemed inevitable. In fact, the Indians fired three times at him, almost at the point of the muzzle, but nevertheless inflicted no new wound. Then, full of confidence in Divine Providence, whose protection was so clearly shown, he took his chalice and paten, and, attired as he was in his priestly vestments, ran to the spot where his periagua was. His two surviving men had already jumped in, and believing him dead or unable to escape from the Indians, had pulled off.

The missionary waded out to reach them, and as he got into the periagua, having turned his head to see whether he was pursued, received a charge of duck-shot in the mouth. Most of the shot flattened against his teeth, and some entered his gums. He escaped with this, and undertook to steer the periagua; his two men, one of whom had his leg broken by a musket-ball, rowing with all their might. The Indians pursued them for more than an hour, keeping up a constant fire on them; but seeing pursuit useless, which surprised the missionary still more, they regained the shore. It was afterwards ascertained that on arriving at their town, they boasted of having killed a Jesuit and all his boatmen.

Nor was it indeed without difficulty that they escaped, as long as their enemies kept up the stubborn chase; the

1730. two oarsmen were more than once tempted to give up, but encouraged by the missionary, they in turn alarmed the Indians, who, apparently having now neither powder nor balls, threw themselves down flat in their periagua whenever one of the two Frenchmen aimed at them an old musket, that was not even loaded, and they at last disappeared. Our party, delivered from this alarm, dressed their wounds as well as they could, then lightened their periagua by throwing overboard everything not absolutely needed, and keeping only a little raw pork for their subsistence.

On coming opposite Natchez, unconscious of what had occurred there, they ran in towards the landing, intending to rest there and have medical aid; but seeing the nearest houses burned or demolished, durst not land. Some Indians who had discovered them, in vain invited them to approach by making every demonstration of friendship; they passed on as quick as they could. Then the Indians fired several guns at them; but they were already out of reach. They intended also to pass the Bay of the Tonicas without stopping, but with all the exertion in their power, a periagua, sent out to reconnoitre, soon overhauled them. They gave themselves up for lost past all resource, till they heard French spoken in the periagua. Then they lay to, and they recovered entirely from their fright on seeing some Frenchmen who were in the boat.

They were taken ashore, where they found troops assembling to go and punish the Natchez. The officers lavished their attentions on Father Doutreleau, had his wounds dressed by the army surgeon, as well as that of his boatman, whose leg was broken, and after giving them rest and refreshment, they placed him and his two men on a periagua, which they were sending to New Orleans. He promised them to return and serve as their chaplain as soon as his wounds were healed:[1] he kept his word, and did not even wait till his perfect recovery before

[1] He reached New Orleans Jan'y 8, 1730. Perrier to the Minister in Gayarré, i., p. 247.

doing so.[1] But before entering on the account of the expedition prepared against the Natchez, we must describe the effect produced throughout the colony by the tidings of the massacre which these Indians had committed on so large a number of the French. 1730.

Activity of Perrier on hearing of the massacre at Natchez.

Mr. Perrier was informed of it on the second of December.[2] He at once dispatched the Sieur le Merveilleux, a Swiss captain, with a detachment to warn all the settlers on both sides of the river to be on their guard, and to throw up redoubts at intervals, in order to secure their slaves and cattle, and this was promptly executed. He then enjoined the same officer to observe closely the small tribes on the river, and to give arms to no Indians, except when and to whom he should direct. He at the same time dispatched a courier to summon to him two Choctaw chiefs, who were hunting on Lake Pontchartrain. The next day a periagua from Illinois reached New Orleans, bringing a Choctaw, who asked to speak to him in private. He admitted him at once, and this man told him that he was greatly affected by the death of the French, and would have prevented it had he not deemed a falsehood what some Chickasaws had told him, namely, that all the Indians were to destroy all the French settlements, and massacre all the men. "What prevented me," he added, "from crediting this story, was their stating that my tribe was in the plot; but Father, if you will let me go to my country, I will immediately return to render a good report of what I have done there."

How he is informed of the general plot against the French.

Mr. Perrier had no sooner left this Indian than others from the smaller tribes came to warn him to distrust the Choctaws, and he learned almost at the same time that two Frenchmen had been killed in the neighborhood of

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He apparently went up to the camp at the Tonicas with Baron. Baron to the Minister, 10 April, 1730. Gayarré, i., p. 254. Kip, p. 294. As to his escape, see Father Le Petit's Letter of July 12, 1730, in Lettres Edifiantes; Kip's Jesuit Missions, pp. 291–2. Carayon, xiv., p. 23. Dumont, Memoires, ii., pp. 160–3; Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 263.

[2] By the Sieur Ricard, store keeper, who escaped. Dumont, ii., pp. 149, 170.

1730. Maubile; that the perpetrators of the murder had not been discovered, but that throughout the district it was said openly that the Choctaws were to attack the fort and all the dwellings. The Commandant-General would gladly have concealed this news from the settlers, who were but too panic-stricken already; but it spread all over in less than no time, and the consternation became so great and so general that thirty Chaouachas, who lived below New Orleans, made the whole colony tremble; this obliged Mr. Perrier to send negroes and destroy them.

On the fifth he adopted the plan of sending the Saint Michael to France, to inform the Court and Company of the condition in which Louysiana was, and ask relief proportioned to its actual need. Two days after, one of the two Choctaw chiefs whom he had sent for, came to tell him that he had dispatched his letter to his nation, and invited all who were enemies of the Natchez to march against them, and that he advised him not to employ the smaller tribes, as he suspected them of being in concert with the Natchez. "I also suspect them," said Mr. Perrier, "but if they are in the plot, it is because they are convinced that you, too, are implicated; however, whether you are or not, I have given good orders everywhere, and I am very glad that you know that the secret has taken wind."

On the first day of January, uneasy at not receiving any dispatches from the Sieur Regis, who by his orders resided among the Choctaws, he dispatched the Sieur de Lusser, a Swiss captain, to ascertain the actual disposition of these Indians, and on the fourth he learned that the Natchez had gone to sing the calumet to them; this confirmed all his suspicions, and threw him into great perplexity.[1] But on the 16th he received a letter from the the Sieur Regis, informing him that immediately after speaking to the Choctaws in his name, they had raised

[1] Perrier to the Minister, March 18, 1730. Gayarré, i., pp. 244–7. Le Petit, (Kip,) p. 295. Dumont, ii., p. 205, makes the attack on the Chaouachas after the Negro Plot, but is evidently wrong.

the death-cry; that afterwards seven hundred warriors had set out to attack the Natchez, and that a party of a hundred and fifty was to pass to the Yazoos, to intercept all the negroes and French prisoners, whom they wished to conduct to the Chickasaws. The next day he received letters from de Saint Denys, the commandant at the Natchitoches, about whom he was much concerned, as some Natchitoches were seen among the Natchez at the time of the massacre of the French; but he learned by these letters that the wisdom and vigilance of that officer had saved him from the disaster threatening his post. 1730.

Discouragement of the whole colony.

He had, however, great difficulty in reassuring the settlers, whom the sad tidings brought in from all parts, almost all with no foundation, but an alarmed imagination, had hurled at once from excessive confidence to as excessive discouragement. He himself felt less sanguine, as he was fully informed that the smaller tribes had been gained by the Chickasaws, and that if the Natchez had not anticipated the day fixed for the execution of the plot, they would have acted simultaneously with them. He also discovered that what had induced the Natchez to precipitate their meditated blow, was their learning that at the very time that the first Choctaw chiefs who had come to New Orleans on his invitation, were on their way thither, a hundred and twenty horses loaded with English goods had entered their country. The Natchez were convinced that these two circumstances were the most favorable to ensure the success of the project; that the two Choctaw chiefs were going to delude the Commandant-General by feigned protestations of fidelity, and that their nation, seeing that an alliance with the English would bring plenty into their country, would not hesitate to keep the promise they had given to fill all on the Maubile River with fire and blood.

Conduct of the Choctaws.

But they were deceived: the Choctaws, from the moment they received the general's invitation through the Sieur Regis, began by declaring that they would not receive the goods from the English till they had learned

1730. what their Father wished to tell them; and on the return of their deputies, they resolved to follow exactly the line of policy which they had long before adopted. Several years before they had wished to destroy the Natchez, and the French had prevented them; they had pretended to enter the general conspiracy only to involve us with our enemies, to whom we had granted peace in spite of them, and thus force us to apply to them to rid ourselves of them, and thus at the same time profit by the spoils of the Natchez and our liberality.

Perrier had not yet well unravelled all the meshes of this self-interested policy, and all that then seemed to him certain, was, that but for the Western Choctaws, the general conspiracy would have taken effect. He accordingly did not hesitate to employ them to obtain redress of the Natchez, cost what it might. Fortunately two of the Company's vessels arrived at New Orleans in the midst of all this, and he did not wish to defer any longer his march against the enemy, convinced that he could not too soon involve the Choctaws, recall the smaller tribes to our interest, or at least overawe them and reassure the settlers. Yet he felt that he ran some risk by beginning the war with such slender forces. "Do not estimate my forces," he said in one of his letters, (March 18, 1720,) "by the step I have taken in attacking the enemy; necessity compelled me. I saw consternation everywhere, and fear increased day by day. In this position I concealed the number of our foes, and treated the idea of a general conspiracy as chimerical, an invention of the Natchez to prevent our acting against them. If I had been at liberty to adopt the most prudent course, I should have held myself on the defensive, and waited for reinforcements from France, lest I should be reproached with having sacrificed two hundred Frenchmen of the five or six hundred whom I may have, for the defence of the lower part of the river. The event has shown that we must not always adopt what is seemingly the most prudent course. We were in a position where violent remedies were required, and it was

necessary to inspire alarm, if we could not do harm. Chance has permitted us to do both, and come honorably out of an affair, the success of which has given us time to understand our position. We have recovered more than two hundred women and children,[1] all our negroes, and brought our enemies to the necessity of abandoning their forts and their lands. If we could have kept our Indians two or three days longer, not a single Natchez would have escaped; their destruction is merely deferred by the measures that I have taken. I do not regard them as our most cruel enemies; the Chickasaws really are; they are entirely devoted to the English, and have managed all the intrigue of the general conspiracy, although they are at peace with us. I have avoided urging the Choctaws to make war on them till I received reinforcements and orders from France, although they asked nothing better; but they are so self-seeking, that it would cost us much to get them to make a move, which I feel convinced they will make of their own accord, from grounds of dissatisfaction of their own."[2] 1730.

They arm against the Natchez.

As on the plan adopted by the General, the most urgent point was to make sure of the Choctaws and other nations nearest to the Fort of Maubile, he made known the first tidings of the Natchez disaster as soon as he received them, to Mr. Diron,[3] who commanded at that post, and by a second letter, which was handed to that officer on the 16th of December, he directed him to sound the Choctaws, to see whether he could depend upon them. The difficulty was to find a man willing to run the risk of putting himself at the mercy of these savages, whose disposition was then doubtful enough, and to whom we could as yet only make promises. Mr. le Sueur,[4] who had

[1] Perrier says 54 women and children, and 100 negroes. Gayarré, i., p. 249.

[2] This is not an extract, but a summary. See dispatch in Gayarré, i., pp. 243–253. As to the missions among the Choctaws and their influence, see Carayon, Documents Inédits, xiv., pp. 17–8.

[3] Diron d'Artaguette died at Cap François in St. Domingo, where he was King's Lieutenant. Charlevoix, Journal, p. 436.

[4] See ante, iv., p. 273*n*.; vi., p. 13*n*.

1730. come when quite young from his native Canada to Louysiana, and had grown up among these tribes, counted enough on the friendship which all the Indians, and these especially, had ever shown him to offer to go to them. His offer was accepted, and he set out from Fort Maubile on the nineteenth. With great toil he visited all the villages; he was well received everywhere, and had no great difficulty in forming the corps of seven hundred warriors of whom I have spoken, and whom he led straight against the Natchez.

On his side, Perrier sent up to the Tonicas two of the Company's vessels. He sent overland warning to all the posts, as far as the Illinois, of what had happened and what he intended to do. He dug a ditch around New Orleans; he placed barracks at its four angles; he organized militia companies for the defence of the city, and as there was more to fear for the settlements and concessions than for the capital, he threw up entrenchments everywhere, and erected forts in the most exposed points; he finally prepared to go and take command of his little army which was assembling in the Bay of the Tonicas. But it was represented to him that his presence was absolutely required at New Orleans; that we were not yet perfectly sure of the Choctaws, and that there was even a fear that the negroes, if these Indians declared against us, would join them in the hope of escaping from slavery, as some had done at Natchez. He accordingly judged it best to confide the expedition to the Chevalier de Loubois, Major of New Orleans, whose valor and experience he knew.[1]

Disposition of several Indian tribes.

The first effect of his preparations was to restore to our side the small Mississippi tribes, who had abandoned it, as Mr. le Sueur regained those around Maubile. We were sure of the affection and fidelity of the Illinois, Akansas,

[1] Diron d'Artaguette to the Minister. Gayarré, i., p. 258. He reproaches Loubois for losing four weeks here in inaction. Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 267, says he did not think himself strong enough to attack the Natchez without the aid of the Choctaws. He speaks highly of Loubois, and ascribes his inefficiency to ignorance of the country.

Offogoulas and Tonicas; and soon, as I have said, of the Natchitoches, and they all gave striking proofs of it in the course of this war. On the other hand, the Natchez seemed to behold without alarm the storm gathering against them. They did not at first despair of winning over the Tonicas, and on the 9th of December sent to them the Tioux, a little tribe long domiciliated among them, to offer them some of the plunder taken from the French, in order to win them over to their side. They did not succeed in this, but killed two straggling Frenchmen whom they found. 1729-30.

The French army assembles at the Tonicas.

On the 10th, the Sieur le Merveilleux entered that bay with his detachment and some Frenchmen who had joined him. He entrenched for fear of surprise. The following days all the troops arrived, and on the 18th the Chevalier de Loubois entered it with twenty-five additional soldiers.[1] He found the whole army encamped, well entrenched, and in good condition. He had two days previously detached the Sieur Mexplex with five men to obtain tidings of the enemy, and, the better to ascertain their strength, he had ordered him to throw out some proposals of peace; but as he was on the point of landing, he received a volley of musketry, which killed three of his men, leaving him and two others prisoners. The next day the Natchez sent one of these latter to Mr. de Loubois to make proposals also on their side, but they assumed a haughty tone, which revealed great confidence and great contempt for us.

Insolent proposals of the Natchez.

They asked in the first place that we should give as hostage the Sieur Brouttin, who had commanded among them, and the Great Chief of the Tonicas. They then specified, with great detail, all the goods they required for the ransom of the women, children and slaves, whom they had in their hands; and although their demands were exorbitant, they seemed to suppose that we would be only too happy to accept them. It was afterwards ascertained that, adding treachery to insolence, their design was to

[1] Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 265.

1729-30. butcher the French who brought this ransom, and then sell their prisoners to the English. The soldier was retained and no answer given. They took their revenge the same day by burning with more than savage barbarity the Sieur Mexplex and the soldier left with him.[1]

The Choctaws gain a great victory over them.

On the 27th, le Sueur arrived at Natchez with the Choctaws, and began the attack almost as soon as he came up. He apparently did not yet know that our army was at the Bay of the Tonicas, or was unable to control the selfish impetuosity of his Indians,[2] who wished to have the best part of the booty, and also profit by the prisoners whom they delivered, for the sequel leads us to infer this. Be that as it may, they charged the enemy so fiercely that they killed eighty men, took sixteen women prisoners,[3] delivered fifty-one French women and children, the two mechanics whom the Natchez had spared, and a hundred and fifty negroes and negresses. They would even have pushed their victory further, for it had cost them only two men killed, and some wounded, had not those of our negroes, whom the Natchez had won over, taken up arms on their side, and prevented the Choctaws from carrying off their powder; this would have compelled the enemy to surrender or fly. There can be no doubt that, had this attack been concerted with the Chevalier de Loubois, not a Natché would have escaped.[4]

I cannot exactly ascertain what detained that commandant so long inactive at the Tonicas.[5] He has been

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[1] Perrier to the Minister, Mar. 18, 1730. Gayarré, i., p. 248. Father Le Petit, (Kip,) p. 295–7. Le Page du Pratz, iii., pp. 275–280.

[2] There is evident confusion as to this date. D'Artaguette to the Minister, Jan'y 10, 1731, (Gayarré, p. 269,) makes it Feb. 27; Dumont, (ii., p. 181,) and Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 283, make them arrive in February, Dumont says, to the number of 1,600, under de Lery, though Le Page says Le Sueur; but Baron's Journal, (Gayarré, i., p. 255,) under date of Feb. 8, and Perrier's, under date of Jan. 31, (Ib., p. 249,) show that it was Jan'y 27, 1730, as Father Le Petit gives it, (Kip) p. 296).

[3] D'Artaguette says 60 killed, 18 taken.

[4] Perrier to the Minister, Gayarré, i., p. 249. This attack was near the Bayou Sainte Catherine.

[5] D'Artaguette, (Jan'y 10, 1731, says he staid to watch the Choctaws, believing in a general conspiracy. Gayarré, i., p. 269.

severely blamed for it, and Perrier, in endeavoring to shield him, drew upon himself a part of the censure of some men, whose authority should not, I think, prevail over his. And the misfortune is, that some of those who were loudest in condemning the manner in which the Natchez war was managed, were not more fortunate in the Chickasaw war, and committed nearly the same faults with which they reproached Mr. Perrier and those commanding under him, if faults they were. 1730.

De Loubois besieges the Natchez in their forts.

Be that as it may, de Loubois on the 2nd of February marched from the Bay of the Tonicas with two hundred men and some field-pieces; on the 8th he arrived at the Natchez and encamped around the temple. On the 12th the cannon were placed in battery before one of the two Indian forts, and as it was supposed that these preparations, especially after the defeat they had received, would induce them to submit to all exacted of them, they were notified that they might still avoid their total ruin by this submission; but they were found more resolute than ever to defend themselves.[1] Accordingly de Loubois opened next morning with seven cannon; but they were two hundred and fifty fathoms from the fort, and they were so badly handled that, after six hours' constant fire, they had not dislodged a single palisade, which put the Choctaws in a very bad humor, as they had been assured that a large breach would be made in two hours. On the other hand, the insolence and avidity of these Indians, whom nothing could satisfy, and who wasted a part of the munitions given them, disgusted the French commandant as much as the desperate resistance of the Natchez.

On the 15th he again wished to try whether they had not become more tractable; he sent them an interpreter

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[1] Baron, Journal, (Gayarré, i., pp. 255–6.) Diron d'Artaguette to Minister. Ib., p. 259. Same to same, Jan'y 10, 1731. Ib., p. 269. French supposes the fort to have been on the bluff, just below the bend of St. Catharine's Creek, near the Lynwood plantation. Louisiana Hist. Coll., v. p. 93 n. See Adair, p. 354.

1730. with a flag to summon them; but they received this envoy with a volley of musketry, which alarmed him so that in his fear he threw aside his flag. It would have fallen into the enemy's hands, if a young soldier had not had the courage to go and recover it, exposing himself to the fire of the besieged; an exploit which on his return to camp won his promotion to the rank of sergeant. The same day the Natchez made a sortie, with a view to surprise de Loubois, who was quartered in their temple, but it failed. During the night of the 19th–20th, a trench was opened two hundred and eighty fathoms from the fort, and on the 21st the cannonade was renewed. "If the opening of the trench was so long delayed, this delay," says Mr. Perrier, in one of his letters, "was caused by the ill-will of our soldiers and some other Frenchmen, who thereby prevented the entire destruction of the Natchez."

They make a sortie and clear the trench. They are repulsed by the Chevalier d'Artaguette.

On the 22nd, these Indians made a second sortie, to the number of three hundred,[1] attacking in three places; they surprised, in the trench, an outpost of thirty men and two officers, who all took flight, imagining that they were attacked simultaneously by the Natchez and the Choctaws; they were ready to seize the cannon, when the Chevalier d'Artaguette came up, and although he had only five men with him, he repulsed the enemy, and recovered the trench. We had only one man killed that day. The same day de Loubois ordered forty soldiers, as many Indians, and some negroes, to storm the two forts the next day; but this was not carried out. On the 24th, a battery of four four pounders was planted within a hundred and eighty fathoms, and at the same time they threatened to reduce the besieged to powder, if they did not surrender the prisoners they held. They immediately sent back the wife of the Sieur Desnoyers, to whom they confided their proposals. She was retained and no answer sent.[2]

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[1] Baron, Journal, p. 257, says 200.

[2] D'Artaguette to the Minister. Gayarré, i., p. 260. The officer named was his nephew. Baron says nothing of it.

1730.

Perrier pretends that what obliged de Loubois to rest satisfied with saving the prisoners still in the hands of the Indians, without attempting an assault, was, in the first place, because he could not depend upon his troops, especially after seeing them abandon the trench, as they did on the 22nd; in the second place, that the Choctaws were suspected of a design of betraying us; thirdly, that the enemy had spread the report that the Chickasaws and English were coming to their assistance. Meanwhile, on the 25th, the fort most closely invested[1] hoisted a flag. A Choctaw chief[2] at once advanced with a party of his men, to speak to the besieged. "Do you remember, or have you ever seen," said he, "that Indians ever kept the field in such numbers before a fort for two months? Judge by this our zeal for the French. Hence it is useless for you, a mere handful of men compared with us, to refuse any longer obstinately to give up the prisoners whom you hold, for if the French were to fire all their cannon, you would soon be in powder. For our part, know that we are resolved to keep you blockaded here till you submit to what is required of you, if we have to plant grain and settle here."

What saved the besieged.

Perrier assures us, in his letters, that in this parley, or in some other interview, the Natchez reproached the Choctaws in the presence of the French, with having themselves entered the general conspiracy, of which they gave all the particulars.[3]

The fact is, that these Indians hoisted their flag only to make known that they consented to give up the prisoners; but they at the same time declared that we must be satisfied with that, and before all else, the army with its cannon must withdraw to the bank of the river; if not that, they would burn all their prisoners. This last consideration determined de Loubois to do what was asked of him, yet without abandoning his design to prevent the

They give up the French prisoners and the siege is raised.

[1] Fort la Farine. D'Artaguette, p. 260.

[2] Alibamon Mengo.

[3] Dispatch of March 18, 1730. Gayarré, i., pp. 250–3.

1730. escape of the Natchez. On the 25th, the prisoners were given up to the Choctaws, and the army withdrew to the bluff on the riverside, having had during the whole siege only nine men killed and wounded.[1] On the night of the 28th–29th, the Natchez, having succeeded in outwitting the French who had been appointed to watch them, escaped, and this was perceived only when it was too late to pursue them.[2] Thus the sole fruit of this expedition was the rescue of the prisoners, who had next to be ransomed from the Choctaws,[3] and the erection of a fort on the very spot to which they had retired. The Chevalier d'Artaguette,[4] who had extremely distinguished himself in all the engagements, was left as commandant with a garrison, in order to secure the navigation of the river.

It is admitted that the soldiers acted very badly at the siege; that fifteen negroes, who were put under arms, fought like heroes, and that if all the others could have been armed and put in the place of the soldiers, they would have succeeded in storming the besieged works. The settlers, commanded by d'Arembourg and de Laye, also did very well.[5] They cheerfully undertook all the labors, and whatever else was ordered. "These creoles," says Mr. Perrier, "will be good soldiers as soon as they are drilled. In fine, the Natchez were reduced to the last extremity; two days more and we should have seen them with their necks in the halter; but we were every moment on the point of being abandoned by the Choc-

[1] Perrier, in one of his letters, says we lost fifteen. *Charlevoix.* He says in the siege and in the detachments. See Gayarré, i., p. 250. Diron d'Artaguette, (Gayarré, i., p. 261,) says 8.

[2] Father le Petit, (Kip,) p. 298 Le Page du Pratz, who describes this siege, vol. iii., pp. 286–292, ridicules the idea of their escaping unperceived with their arms, household utensils, wives and children, and insinuates that the French gave them the opportunity.

[3] They were obtained with great difficulty and at a very high ransom. Dumont, ii., p. 189. Le Page du Pratz, iii., pp. 293–4.

[4] Dumont and Le Page du Pratz say the Baron de Creant, or Crenet.

[5] Dumont's account of this siege is vague. Memoires, ii., pp. 181–8. Most of the families that escaped the massacre, settled at Pointe Coupée. Ib., p. 192. The orphans were taken by the Ursuline nuns. Father le Petit, (Kip's Jesuit Missions,) p. 301.

taws, who grew very impatient, and their departure would have exposed the French to receive a check, and to behold their women, children and slaves burned, as their enemies threatened." 1730.

Before resolving to make war on the Natchez, the Choctaws had gone to them to enter into some negotiation with them, and they had met with a strange enough reception. They found these Indians and their horses decked with chasubles and antependiums; many wore patens around their necks; drank and made others drink brandy out of the chalices and ciboriums. In a word, they found nothing in the chapel that they had not put to the most profane and sacrilegious use. This highly pleased the Choctaws, who in the sequel, securing this booty, renewed the profanation committed by their enemies, and it was found impossible to rescue all from their hands. Moreover, had these savages rendered the French all the service in their power, by acting in concert with them, their evil disposition always made them most odious to the colony. "There had never yet been seen in all America," wrote a missionary, eye-witness of everything then occurring, "Indians more insolent, more ferocious, more disgusting, more importunate, more insatiable." Insolence of the Choctaws.

However, they were still needed, and had to be managed. The Natchez were not destroyed; they could in future be regarded only as irreconcilable enemies, and it was to be expected that as long as they subsisted, they would do us through themselves and through the enemies whom they would endeavor to raise up against us, all the evil possible to savages, who had no terms to make. The Chickasaws did not yet appear, but we were conscious that they were the authors of the whole trouble, and their engagements with the English left no doubt but that they would be powerfully supported by the latter whenever they thought fit to lift the mask. The sequel only justified these suspicions.

Among the negroes recovered from the Natchez, were some of those who had taken part against us, and these

1730. were punished; the three most guilty were given up to the Choctaws, who burned them with an inhumanity which gave all the other negroes such a horror of the Indians as to make them more docile and more faithful.[1] The Yazoos, Corrois and Tioux, were not more fortunate than the Natchez. The Akansas fell on them and made a perfect massacre; of the two former nations, only fifteen Indians remained, who hastened to join the Natchez; the Tioux were all killed to a man.

The Chickasaws in vain tempt the fidelity of our allies.

About the same time it was discovered that the Chickasaws, after a useless attempt to draw the Akansas and Tonicas into the general conspiracy, had applied also, but with as little success, to the Illinois; these Indians replying curtly, that as they were all Christians, the Chickasaws must never expect to detach them from the French; that they would always place themselves between them and their enemies, who would have to trample over their dead bodies before they could touch one of the French. They soon after learned what had been done at the Natchez and Yazoos, and at once two troops of Mitchigamias and Kaskasquias, led by the two head chiefs of those two Illinois tribes, descended to New Orleans, to bewail the missionaries who had perished in that massacre, and offer the General all who depended on them to avenge the French. Mr. Perrier gave them audience with much pomp, and they spoke as Christians and faithful allies, in a manner that charmed all. Nor did they edify the whole city less by their piety and the correctness of their conduct, and they took leave of the General, promising him to guard well their own country, and all the upper part of the river.

The English as unsuccessful.

Mr. Perrier next learned that the English had earnestly exhorted the Choctaws to declare against us, and supported their solicitations by large presents, and he wrote to the Minister that, placed as he was, he needed a prompt assistance; that the employment of Indians would cost

[1] Father le Petit, Letter, July 12, 1730. (Kip,) p. 301.

much more than the maintenance of troops; that if you employed these Indians, you would be always at the mercy of their caprice and inconstancy; that they got the idea that we applied to them only because we were incapable of making war, and so prevalent had this opinion become among all these nations, that the smallest, petty tribe regarded itself as the bulwark and protection of the colony. That after five or six years, the number of troops might be gradually decreased, as during that time the creoles would multiply and be trained; that then we should have even more Indians ready to side with us when they saw that we no longer needed them. 1730.

The Natchez renew their raids.

For some time the Natchez had not been heard of, but at last tidings came that they were renewing their raids; that they had surprised ten Frenchmen and twenty negroes, and that none had escaped but a young soldier, who had already escaped the great massacre of November 28th, and two negroes. The General then saw that no time was to be lost in rendering that nation utterly incapable of injuring us; and as the intrigues of the English among the Choctaws had increased his anxiety in regard to those Indians, he deemed it imperative to begin by setting his mind at rest in regard to them. He accordingly resolved on having an explanation from the chiefs, and notified them of his wish to have an interview with them at Maubile. He fixed a time when he would go there, and when he judged that they would soon arrive, he left New Orleans, where his presence was less necessary now that reinforcements had arrived from France, as I shall soon explain.

Perrier negotiates with the Choctaws.

On landing, he found that they had anticipated the day by twenty-four hours. He was even agreeably surprised to see there the Chief of the Caouitas, a numerous tribe, strongly attached to the English, and a Chickasaw chief. He began by inquiring from the Sieur Regis, from Father Baudoin, the Jesuit who was endeavoring to establish a mission among the Choctaws, and from the interpreters, what effect had been produced on the mind of the Indians

1730. by the arrival of troops from France; and they told him that most (of the chiefs) had hesitated whether they should attend the conference, for fear some trap should be sprung on them, fully conscious that the French had ground to be dissatisfied with them; but that some of the Western chiefs had answered for the good faith of our nation, adding: "It is the English who corrupt our mind."

Persuaded by this language, they had started for Maubile, which they entered on the 26th of October, to the number of eight hundred men. On the 28th, Perrier, who had arrived on the 27th, began to treat with them, and he had to submit to a hundred and fifty harangues, which took up a week. The substance of all was that the Indians begged him to assure the King of their inviolable fidelity; that they would never forget that he it was who had made men of them, and rendered them a terror to their neighbors; that some rumors unfavorable to the French had indeed circulated in their villages, but that such language came only from some madcaps, and that the chiefs and sachems had not been parties to it; that they begged him not to blame them for it, and to forget the past. This he promised, and spoke to them only concerning the negroes retaken from the Natchez, whom they still kept, although they had pledged their word to bring them into the colony. They replied that they had always intended to bring them back, but that their masters must send for them, because some whom they tried to bring back killed themselves on the way.

Although a good understanding seemed quite well restored between the Eastern and the Western Choctaws, the General nevertheless perceived that they were still somewhat jealous of each other, and as he was much surer of the latter than of the former, he represented to those that it was necessary for them to have a head chief like the others. He added that for this dignity he had cast his eyes on the Chief of the Castachas,[1] whom they

[1] A Choctaw tribe. *Charlevoix.*

knew to be a brave and capable man of ancient family. 1730.
They replied that they approved this choice, and with pleasure accepted this Head Chief at his hands. He showed the warmest friendship to the great Chief, whom he styles in his letters the "Emperor of the Caouitas,"[1] to whom he made a suitable present; it pleased him greatly, and he declared that he would be devoted to the French as long as he lived; that he saw that the advice we gave was always good; that he wished the English thought as they did, as all nations would be the happier for it.

Mr. Perrier also gave audience to the Chickasaw chief, but adopted a different tone with him. He told him, however, that he was very glad to see him; that when his nation returned to its duty, he would treat it like the rest, and that it depended on them to live calmly and happily; that he was ignorant of none of their intrigues, but that he would resume his paternal feelings for them, when they themselves acted as submissive and obedient children. This man made no reply, but a week after, he asked the Castacha chief to tell the General that they were unhappy, and really worthy of compassion; that since he had withdrawn the French who traded with them, all the northern nations made unrelenting war on them. Perrier told the one who spoke thus to assure that chief that no nation of his province should attack them, as long as they gave him no other cause of complaint, but that he did not answer for the Canada Indians, as they were thoroughly convinced that they were enemies of the French; that they must prove the contrary by unequivocal acts.

The most delicate point on which Mr. Perrier had to treat with the Choctaws, was trade. He knew that they complained loudly of the dearness of our goods, nor was he unaware that the English had promised to furnish their goods at half any price we might set on ours. On the other hand, he was well convinced that if he made the deduction they asked, they would in six months demand another. He thought, however, he might gratify

[1] Called by the Spaniards Chipacafi. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 332.

1730. them this once, but on condition that they should trade only with us, and this was in part to avoid being afterwards exposed to new importunities on this point, and in part to show them that the French were sufficient in themselves, and that he did not wish to employ them in the new expedition he was preparing against the Natchez.

Reinforcements arrive from France.

What had rendered the Choctaws so easy to manage was, on the one hand, the arrival of reinforcements from France, which they overrated beyond their actual strength, and on the other the unexpectedly good reception accorded them by Mr. Perrier. The reinforcements had come on the Somme, King's storeship, commanded by Perrier de Salvert, brother of the Commandant-General.[1] He passed the bar of the Micissipi without any difficulty on the 8th of August, low as the waters were, though his vessel, even after discharging a part of the cargo at the storehouses on Isle Toulouse, (or Balise,) drew fourteen feet eight inches of water. On the 15th he anchored before New Orleans, and in a letter which he wrote to the Count de Maurepas, on the 15th of November, he informed that Minister that he found all the inhabitants of the colony in great alarm; that the few troops left his brother, were not good enough to keep all in the line of duty; that the poor recruits sent over by the Company, far from reassuring the colony, had increased the alarm; that out of a hundred men drawn from the regiments, only sixty had arrived, with no explanation of the detention of the others at l'Orient; that his brother had asked six field-pieces, six small mortars, balls and shells, none of which had come; that they would be obliged to use periaguas to transport troops, provisions and munitions, for want of more convenient boats; that the Natchez, joined by some other small tribes, were entrenched in three forts; that their ravages on the river intercepted trade, and that there was no difficulty in seeing whence their support came.

The trifling aid so impatiently expected, was doubtless

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[1] Both are now post captains. *Charlevoix.*

what had deferred the project of closing the war by storming the intrenchments of the Natchez, as it now required levies of settlers and Indians to make up for it. And it was after giving orders for this, that Perrier proceeded to Maubile to confer with the Choctaws, not to ask those Indians to join him in his expedition, since he was, as we have seen, resolved to act without them, but to prevent their accepting the commercial offers made by the English, and to retain them in our alliance. 1730.

The army marches—its order.

This accomplished, he returned to New Orleans,[1] where he found the army ready to march. His first step was to send the Sieur de Coulonge, a Canadian, to the Akansas, who were to assemble at the French fort at Natchez. The Sieur de Beaulieu embarked with him, with orders to reconnoitre the enemy's condition. On the 9th of December, Mr. de Salvert embarked with two hundred men; including three companies of marines, the rest volunteers or sailors from the Somme.[2] On Monday, the 11th, Mr. Perrier set out with a company of grenadiers, two of fusiliers, and some volunteers. This detachment was also two hundred strong; Captain de Benac commanding the militia, followed on the 13th with eighty men; he was to have a hundred and fifty, but the rest joined him on the way.

On the 20th, the whole force having united at the Bayagoulas, a Colapissa chief arrived there with forty warriors of his tribe. The militia companies were organized at this place, and a company of cadets selected from them, but soon suppressed. Mr. le Sueur had orders the next day to load the demi-galley which he commanded, and to push on to Red River, which he was to ascend; for although it was not precisely known where the Natchez were, they were supposed, beyond doubt, to be on the Black, or River of the Ouatchitas, which empties into the Red ten leagues above its entrance into the Micissipi.

On the 22nd, they set out from the Bayagoulas in this

[1] Perrier to the Minister, March 25, 1731. Gayarré, p. 273.

[2] Perrier as above, says 150 marines, 40 sailors.

1730. order: The army was divided into three battalions, or three squadrons. The marines under de Salvert on the right, the militia under de Benac on the left; the General in the centre, having under him the Baron de Cresnay commandant of the Louysiana troops, the Chevalier d'Artaguette commanding the grenadier company, the Sieur Baron acting as engineer, and the fusileers; a part of the latter were at the French fort at Natchez, whence Mr. de Lusser was to march with them to Red River. The negroes were scattered in different boats, and the Indians, who had not all assembled yet, were to form a corps by themselves.

On the 27th they had made but little progress, as snows and rain had swollen the river and increased its currents, while the fogs were so dense and continual as to force them every moment to stop.

The Natchez attack a periagua, killing or wounding sixteen French.

This day news came that de Coulonges and de Beaulieu had been attacked by the Natchez, and that of twenty-four men in the French batteau, sixteen had been killed or wounded; Beaulieu among the former, and Coulonges among the latter.[1] To crown the disastrous intelligence, it was also reported that the Akansas, weary of hearing no tidings of the French force, had gone home. Perrier halted some time at the Bay of the Tonicas, to assemble the Indians, who had not yet come in; he was blamed for not having arranged to send them on in advance to blockade the Natchez in their fort; but he probably had not sufficient confidence in these Indians to entrust them with a movement on which all the success of the campaign depended. The Canadians, who readily blamed everything that was done, since the colony was no longer governed by one of themselves, judged the Louysiana by the Canada Indians, and in this were mistaken. Perrier might have manœuvred differently if he had had Abénaquis, Hurons, Algonquins and Iroquois to deal with, all Christians, and long domiciliated among us.

That General rejoined the army at the mouth of Red

[1] Perrier to the Minister, March 25, 1731. Gayarré, i., p. 274.

River on the 4th of January, 1731, with several Indians, who now amounted to a hundred and fifty of various nations. He had some days before ordered de Benac to ascend to our Natchez fort to obtain information. He returned on the ninth without having seen anything or heard any intelligence. The same day the Indians and a hundred and fifty volunteers were detached to take the advance under Captain de Laye of the militia, and blockade the Natchez as soon as they were discovered; but this detachment did not proceed far, the Indians not going willingly on this expedition. On the eleventh, they ascended Red River, and at noon the next day they entered the Black. The General had commanded the greatest precaution to avoid being discovered by the enemy; but his orders were unavailing, as the Indians, recognizing no authority and observing no discipline, continued to fire, as usual with them, at all game that showed itself; so that it is rather astonishing that they succeeded in finding the enemy in his fort after so long a march and so little secrecy.

1731.

Indocility of our Indian allies.

It was on the 20th of January that they discovered the enemy. Orders were at once given to invest them, and as this was done closely, and they were within speaking distance, the besieged began by invectives. The trenches were opened and skirmishing kept up all day and all night. The next day the mortars and all things necessary for the siege were landed. Some shells were then thrown, which fell inside the fort. The besieged made a sortie, killed one[1] Frenchman and one negro, and wounded an officer, but they were sharply repulsed by Mr. de Lusser. Shells were thrown all through the 22nd, but produced no great result, and the enemy wounded two of our soldiers. However, on the 24th, they hoisted a white flag. Perrier at once raised a similar one at the head of his trench, and soon after an Indian was seen approaching with two calumets in his hand.

The army in sight of the enemy.

The General sent his interpreter to receive him, and when the envoy came before him, he asked for peace,

[1] Perrier says two. Gayarré, i., p. 277. See Le Page du Pratz, iii., pp. 321–5.

1731. offering to surrender all the negroes whom they still had in the fort. Perrier replied that he wished the negroes,

They ask peace. but he also required that the chiefs should come to confer with him. The deputy replied that the chiefs would not come, but that if the General had anything to communicate to them, he might advance to the head of the trench, and that the Head Chief would on his side advance to the edge of his fort. Perrier told him to go at all events and get the negroes, and that on his return he would announce his intentions.

They give up all the negroes captured from the French whom they still held. He returned with this reply and in half an hour brought eighteen negroes and one negress. On restoring them to the General, he told him that the Sun would not come out, yet that he asked nothing except to make peace; but on condition that the army should at once retire; that if it adopted this course, he pledged his word that his nation would never commit any hostility against the French, and that he was even ready, if desired, to go and restore his village in its old site. The General replied that he would listen to no proposition till the chiefs came to meet him; that he assured them their lives; but that if they did not come to him that very day, there should be no quarter for any one.

They continue to parley The envoy returned with this message, and after a time came back to say that all the warriors, with one accord, refused to let the Sun come out; that this excepted, they were disposed to do anything required. The cannon had just arrived; the General replied to this Indian that he held to his first proposition, and ordered him to notify his people that if they allowed a single cannon to be fired, he would put all to the sword, without sparing even the women and children. This man soon returned with a Natché named St. Côme, a son of the woman Chief, and who consequently would have succeeded the Sun. This Indian, who had at all times been quite familiar with the French, told Mr. Perrier in a very resolute tone, that, inasmuch as peace had been concluded, he ought to dismiss his troops; that he was very sorry for what his na-

tion had done against us, but that all should be forgotten, especially as the prime mover in all the mischief had been killed in the first siege during the Choctaw attack. 1731.

Perrier expressed his pleasure at seeing him, but insisted absolutely on seeing the Head Chief also; that he would no longer be trifled with, and that no Natché must again think of coming to his presence except in company with the Sun, as he would fire on any one advancing to make new proposals; that he accordingly permitted him to return to his fort, but that if the Head Chief did not come forth as soon as he got in, he would reduce the fort to ashes with his bombs. Saint Côme at once took leave of him, and in half an hour was seen coming forth with the Sun, and another called the Flour Chief, (Chef de la Farine.) The last was the real author of the massacre of the French; but Saint Côme had wished to throw the fault on another. They appeared at the moment when preparations were making to attack the fort during the coming night. The Head Chief, his presumptive successor and another chief, come into the camp.

Mr. Perrier sent soldiers to meet them and conduct them to his quarters. The Sun told the General that he was charmed to treat with him, and that he came to repeat to him what he had told him through the envoy; that it was not he who had killed the French; that he was then too young to speak, and that it was the ancients who had formed this criminal project. "I am well aware," he added, "that it will always be ascribed to me, because I was the sovereign of my nation, yet I am quite innocent." In fact, it has always been believed in the colony that his whole crime was in not daring to resist his nation, or notify the French of what was plotting against them. Up to that time, and especially before he attained the dignity of Sun, he had never given any grounds to distrust him. Saint Côme, who was likewise not hostile to the French, also cleared him as well as he could; but the other chief merely said that he regretted deeply all that had happened. "We had no sense," he continued, "but hereafter we shall have." As they They are secured.

1731. stood in the rain, which became more violent, Perrier told them to take shelter in a neighboring cabin, and as soon as they entered, he placed four sentinels there, and appointed three officers to watch it by turns.

He then summoned the Head Chief of the Tonicas and a Natché chief, called the Stung Serpent, (Le Serpent Picqué,) to endeavor by these means to extract some light from his prisoners; but it seems that these two men could elicit nothing new. My authorities do not state whether the Stung Serpent was then in our camp as a friend or as a prisoner, but towards the close of 1721, while I was at the Natchez, I saw that he was regarded as the best friend we had in that nation, and he was said to be a very close relation of the Sun.[1] The commission confided to him by Perrier induces me to believe that he had always remained strongly attached to us.

One of the chiefs escapes and induces several others to follow him.

To return to those who had been arrested: Le Sueur, who was one of the three officers to whom they had been committed, and who understood their language very well, wished to converse with them, but they made him no reply, and he left them to rest, while the other two officers reposed. Half an hour later, these awoke, and he in his turn went to sleep. About three o'clock he was awakened by a loud noise. He sprang to his two pocket-pistols, and perceived Saint Côme and the Sun in the posture of men who are on the point of escaping. He told them that he would blow out the brains of the first who stirred, and as he was alone, the sentinels and other two officers being in pursuit of the Flour Chief, whom they had by their negligence allowed to escape, he called for help. Perrier was the first to run up, and gave new orders to pursue the fugitive, but all in vain.

Early in the morning of the 25th, a Natché approached the camp: he was led into the cabin where the

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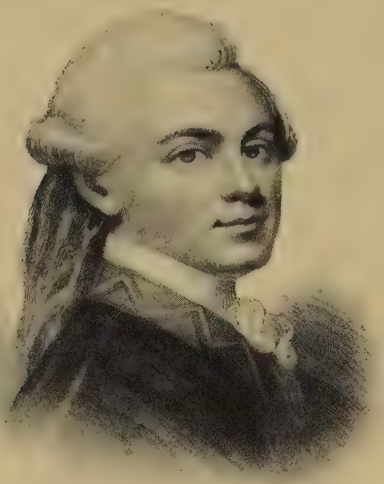
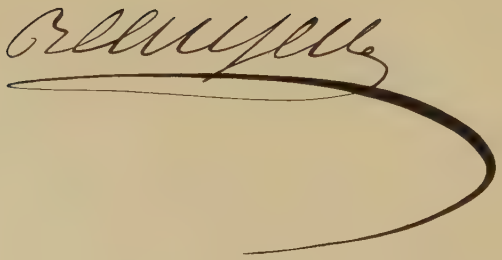
[1] Le Serpent Picqué was detained with the Great and Little Sun during the First Natchez War, ante, p. 29. But Dumont, Memoires Historiques, I., p. 209, says that Le Serpent Piqué or Olabalkebiche died in June, 1725, and Le Page du Pratz makes his death still earlier, i., p. xv. iii p. 27.





Sun was, and informed him that the Flour Chief had come into the fort; that having awaked his nephew and eight or ten of the oldest warriors, he had told them that the French intended to burn them all; that for his part, he was sternly resolved no longer to remain exposed to fall into their hands, and that he advised them to seek safety with him; that they had followed his advice and escaped with their wives and children; that all the others had deliberated whether to do the same, but had deferred too long coming to a resolution, and day breaking, they saw that escape was impossible. On this, the Head Chief told Mr. le Sueur that the Flour Chief was a usurper, who, although not noble, had seized the place he occupied, which made him the third person in the nation, and gave him absolute power over all whom he commanded. 1731.

Others surrender to the French.

In the evening, Mr. Perrier went to see the Sun, and declared to him that he must send orders to all his subjects to come forth from the fort unarmed, with their wives and children; that he would spare their lives and prevent the Indians from illtreating them. He obeyed, and at once sent orders by the Natché who had come to bear the message I have mentioned; but all refused to submit. The wife of the Head Chief came to him the same day, with his brother and some others of his family, and Perrier gave her a hearty welcome, in consideration of the kindness she had shown the French women during their captivity. They were anxious to have the woman Chief, who had even more influence in the nation than the Sun himself. The wife of the Chief went repeatedly to the fort to induce her to come out, but her exhortations were unavailing. About thirty-five men and two hundred women surrendered towards two o'clock in the afternoon; the rest were told that unless they did the same at once, the cannonade would begin, and that as soon as it opened, there should be no mercy for any one. They replied that we might fire when we chose; that they did not fear death. Yet it is certain that there were only seventy warriors at most, remaining in the fort; that they had not

1731. a single chief, and that most of them kept themselves shut up from the fear of falling into the hands of the Indians if they attempted to escape separately, or of being perceived by the besiegers if they all escaped in a body.

Most of them escape. They were not, however, cannonaded; moreover, the weather was fearful, the rain having been incessant for three days; the besieged trusted that the French would be less careful in watching the passes, and they were not mistaken. About eight o'clock at night, Mr. de Benac sent word to Mr. Perrier that they were escaping. The trenches and all the posts at once were ordered to fire, but the fugitives passed unperceived along a bayou or little river, which ran between the quarter of the militia and that of the Baron de Cresnay; and before it was known, and we entered the fort, they were already far off with their wives and children. Only one woman was found, who had been just delivered of a child, and one man in the act of escaping.[1]

Our Indians refuse to pursue them. The French army decamps. The next day, the 26th, we endeavored to induce the Indians to pursue these fugitives, but they refused, saying that as they had escaped by our fault, it was our business to pursue them; so that having no longer any enemies to fight, our troops had to think of returning. The same day, all the prisoners were bound; the Sun, his brother, brother-in-law, Saint Côme and all of that family were put on board the Saint Louis. Forty warriors were put in the demi-galley commanded by le Sueur. The women and children, numbering in all three hundred and eighty-seven persons, were distributed among the other vessels. The whole army embarked on the 27th, and on the 5th of February reached New Orleans.[2]

Forces of the Natchez after this siege. The war was far from being finished. Le Sueur had ascertained from the Head Chief that the whole nation was not by any means in the fort that we had besieged;

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[1] Perrier's Dispatch, March 25, 1731. Gayarré, i., p. 272–280, gives this affair mainly as here.

[2] The Sun and other chiefs were sent to St. Domingo and sold as slaves. Bienville saw them there in 1733. Letter, 28 January. Gayarré, i., p. 292.

that it still comprised two hundred warriors,[1] including the Yazoos and the Corrois, and as many youth, who could already in an emergency handle a musket; that one of their chiefs had gone to the Chickasaws with forty men and many women; that another, with sixty or seventy men, more than a hundred women, and a great number of children, was three days journey from his fort, on the shore of a lake; that twenty men, ten women and six negroes were at the Ouatchitas; that a band discovered by the army on the 18th of January, comprised twenty men, fifty women, and many children; that some twenty warriors were prowling around their old village to cut off the Frenchmen; that the Yazoos and Corrois were in another fort three days' march from his; that all the rest had died of hardship or dysentery. We were finally informed that the Flour Chief might have assembled sixty or seventy men, a hundred women, and a great number of children. 1731.

Le Sueur having acquired all this information, proceeded to report it to the General, and told him that if he would allow him to take all the well-disposed men, he believed he could guarantee to master all these separate corps; but he was refused. Perrier had not, perhaps, all the confidence in the Canadians that most of them deserved, and brought up in a service where discipline and subordination are at the highest point, he could not conceive that anything of importance can be effected with militia, who acknowledged no law of war but great bravery and invincible patience in the severest marches and most laborious works. He would doubtless have thought otherwise had he reflected that rules must be adapted according to the enemy's manner of fighting.

However, we were not slow in perceiving that the Natchez could still render themselves formidable, and that the step of sending the Sun and all who had been taken with him to be sold as slaves in St. Domingo, had rather

[1] Diron d'Artaguette, June 24. Gayarré, i., p. 281, says 300.

1731. exasperated than intimidated the remnant of that nation, in whom hatred and despair had transformed their natural pride and ferocity into a valor of which they were never deemed capable. In the month of April, the Head Chief of the Tonicas descended to New Orleans, and told Perrier that while he was hunting, four Natchez had come to him to beg him to make terms for them with the French, adding that all, including those who had taken refuge among the Chickasaws, asked to be received and pardoned; that they would reside wherever it was wished, but that they should be glad to be near the Tonicas, and that he came to ascertain his intentions.

The Chief of the Tonicas allows himself to be surprised and killed by the Natchez.

Perrier replied that he consented to their settling two leagues from his village, but not nearer, to avoid all occasion of quarrel between the two nations; but that above all things, he exacted that they should come unarmed. The Tonica promised to conform to this order; yet as soon as he reached home, he received thirty Natchez into his village, after taking the precaution to disarm them. At the same time fifteen other Natchez and twenty women came to the Baron de Cresnay, whom they found in the fort which had been built on their old grounds. A few days after, the Flour Chief arrived among the Tonicas with a hundred men, their women and children, having concealed fifty Chickasaws and Corrois in the canebrake around the village.

The Head Chief informed them that he was forbidden to receive them unless they gave up their arms; they replied that this was indeed their intention, but they begged him to consent to let them keep them some time longer, lest their women, seeing them disarmed, should think themselves prisoners condemned to death. He consented; then food was distributed to their new guests, and they danced till after midnight, after which the Tonicas retired to their cabins, thinking that of course the Natchez would also go to rest. But soon after, that is to say, one hour before day, for it was the 14th day of June, the Natchez, and apparently the Chickasaws and Cor-

rois, although Perrier's letter says nothing on the point, fell upon all the cabins, and slaughtered all whom they surprised asleep. The Head Chief ran up at the noise, and at first killed four Natchez; but overborne by numbers, he was slain with some twelve of his warriors. His war-chief, undismayed by this loss or the flight of most of his braves, rallied a dozen, with whom he regained the Head Chief's cabin; he even succeeded in recalling the rest, and after fighting for five days and nights almost without intermission, remained master of his village. The Tonicas on this occasion had twenty men killed and as many wounded. They killed of the Natchez thirty-three men, and took three prisoners, whom they burned.[1] 1731.

Several Natchez killed in different actions.

Perrier no sooner received this tidings, than he dispatched a detachment, under the command of the Chevalier d'Artaguette, to induce as many Indians as he could to pursue the Natchez. At the same time he ordered the Baron de Cresnay to make sure of all those who had surrendered to him; he obeyed, but his adjutant, to whom he confided them, having allowed them to retain their knives, they sprang, at a moment when it was least expected, on eight muskets which were stacked, and with these kept up a fire till they were all killed, men, women and children, to the number of thirty-seven. Their chief had gone to New Orleans with fifteen of his men; these were arrested and sent to Toulouse Island, where they were put in irons. They found means to break them, but had not time to escape, and were all killed.

Others besiege de St. Denys at the Natchitoches. Their defeat.

Meanwhile the Flour Chief, after the miscarriage of his plot at the Tonicas, proceeded to join those of his nation who had escaped Perrier on the Black River, led them to Natchitoches, where de Saint Denys was with but a few soldiers, and besieged him in his fort. Saint Denys at once sent an express to the Commandant-General to ask

[1] Perrier to the Minister, December 10, 1731, in Gayarré, i., p. 285; Dumont, Memoires, ii., p. 197. He was a Christian, converted and baptized by Rev. Mr. Le Maire. Ib., i., p. 165–6. Le Page du Pratz, iii., pp. 300–302.

1731. relief, and on the 21st of October, Mr. de Loubois set out from New Orleans at the head of sixty men to reinforce him. He had advanced six leagues up Red River, and was only seven or eight days' march from the Natchitoches, when the Sieur Fontaine, sent by de Saint Denys to Perrier, informed him that the Natchez had been defeated; that the Natchitoches had at the outset wished to attack them, but being only forty against two hundred, they had been compelled to retire, and even abandon their village after losing four of their men; that the Natchez had seized the village, and intrenched themselves there; that then de Saint Denys, having received a reinforcement of Assinais and Attacapas, who were joined by some Spaniards, had attacked the enemy's intrenchments and killed eighty-two, including all their chiefs; that all the survivors had taken flight, and that the Natchitoches were in close pursuit.[1]

Forces of the Chickasaws.

So many losses, and especially the loss of the chiefs, reduced the Natchez to a mere tribal band; but there were enough left to harass the settlers of Louysiana, and to interrupt trade. Moreover, it was impossible to dissemble any longer with the Chickasaws, who were not long now in declaring themselves openly, which they had hitherto avoided doing. They numbered a thousand warriors, and eighty or a hundred Natchez might yet join them, to say nothing of the few remaining Corrois and Yazoos. This was enough to plunge the colony back into the panic from which it had not entirely recovered, and it beheld itself on the eve of sustaining a new war, to which its present forces did not promise a speedy termination.

Their intrigue to excite our negroes to revolt.

The Chickasaws, the fiercest and bravest of all the Louysiana Indians, after raising the mask as they had just done at the Tonicas, expected, of course, that we

[1] Diron d'Artaguette, June 24, 1731, says he had 14 Spaniards and 400 Assinais, he gives the French loss, two soldiers, one Spaniard, and many Indians; the Natchez loss, killed and prisoners, 74. Gayarré, i., p. 282. Dumont, ii., pp. 198–200. Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 272.

would cease to treat them so considerately. To check us, they had taken steps which led men to believe that their neighbors directed all their movements, and in a very short time we had proofs that were by no means equivocal. They began by sending to New Orleans a trusty negro, to notify all of his race who were among us, that it depended on themselves alone to recover their liberty and live in quiet and plenty among the English. 1731.

This man managed his intrigues well; he was heard with pleasure by all his race; but Perrier was warned by a negress, a servant in the city, that a plot was formed by a great number of these slaves; that they had agreed to take the time of the parochial High Mass to set fire to various houses in order to occupy apart from each other, all not at church, and then to seize this favorable conjuncture to escape. On this deposition, the Commandant-General arrested a woman who was the mainspring of the conspiracy, and four men, who had been declared the chiefs. They were confronted and convicted; the woman was hung and the men broken alive, and these examples, which showed the rest that their secret had taken wind, was enough to keep the rest in their duty.[1] These latter conspire against us and are punished.

Meanwhile the Choctaws, of whom a part had been gained by the Chickasaws, had turned a deaf ear to the invitations made by the Sieur Regis in behalf of his general to send three hundred of their warriors against our enemies; but thirty or forty of these last having been killed in an engagement by the French, this little check lost them the alliance of that nation, the only one from whom they had anything to fear or hope: it all united in our favor. Then the Chickasaws again turned to the Miamis, Illinois and Akansas; but they found tribes who were still faithful to their first engagements, and who from the outset dissipated all their hopes of gaining them. The Illinois even gave up to the Commandant-General the three ambassadors whom our enemies had sent them, The Akansas and the Illinois refuse to league with the Chickasaws.

[1] Beauchamp to Minister, Nov. 1, 1731. Gayarré, i., p. 284. Du-mont, ii., p. 202–4. Le Page du Pratz, iii., pp. 304–317.

1731. and they were put at the discretion of the Choctaws, who burned them at New Orleans itself, and thereby removed all doubt that might yet remain as to their attachment to us.

The India Company cedes Louysiana back to the King, who confides the government to Mr. Perrier.

While these things were going on, Mr. Perrier, who, as he himself states in one of his letters to the Minister, expected to be recalled, because he had been informed that they were working against him in the India Company, was quite surprised to receive a commission, appointing him Governor of Louysiana for the King. On the 22nd of January in this year, the Company had deliberated the question of conveying back to his majesty the grant which had been made to it of that province and the Illinois country and their exclusive privilege, on condition of being empowered to grant permissions to the merchants of the kingdom who might wish to trade there. On the 27th of March, this deliberation was approved by an Arrêt, and Mr. de Salmon, who was discharging at New Orleans the duties of Commissaire Ordonnateur, took possession of the country in the name of his majesty, by Letters Patent of the King, on the 10th of April following.

However, Mr. Perrier had not the time to profit by the measures which he had adopted to push on the Chickasaw War. He preferred the service in which he had been brought up, to expeditions where the risks incurred could not be compensated by the glory that might be acquired, and he was relieved in 1733 by Mr. de Bienville,[1] whom he had succeeded in 1726. The new Governor found himself at once burthened with the Chickasaw War, which had become a much more serious matter than had been at first supposed. This war is not yet terminated, as we cannot flatter ourselves that the peace recently granted them will be durable; moreover, the events which it has furnished for history are so differently related, that it is not yet possible to distinguish the truth amid the clouds in which the friends and enemies of the principal actors have enveloped it.[2]

[1] Le Page du Pratz, iii., p. 397. Bienville and Salmon's Dispatch, May 12, 1733.

[2] For the state of the colony, see Gayarré, i., p. 293.

1736.

Noble action of a Jesuit and skilful retreat of an officer of sixteen years of age.

All the world knows[1] the loss sustained by the colony in 1736, in the persons of the brave Chevalier d'Artaguette and a great number of officers of merit, and the noble action of the Jesuit Father Senat, who preferred to expose himself to the certain peril of being taken and burned by the Chickasaws, as he really was, rather than not assist to their latest breath the wounded who could not retreat or even be transported by those who did. This retreat, which was the work of a young man of sixteen, named Voisin, may be regarded as a masterpiece in point of skill and bravery. Pursued for twenty-five leagues, he lost, indeed, many men, but it cost the enemy dearly, and he besides marched forty-five leagues without food, his men carrying in their arms the wounded who were able to bear transportation. Almost all[2] those who in this affair fell into the enemies' hands, and who were quite numerous, were burned in the most barbarous manner, with the missionary, who was not the only one to exhort the companions of his torture to do honor by their courage and patience, to their religion and their nation. The Sieur de Vincennes,[3] a Canadian gentleman and officer in the army,

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[1] Charlevoix evidently refers to some publication of the day, probably Drouet de Richarville's Récit, describing the fate of Father Antonine Senat, but I have never been able to find it. Senat refused a horse when offered him, preferring to remain with the dying. Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane, Carayon, Documents Inédits, xiv., p. 24. Dumont, Memoires, ii., pp. 230–1. Adair, History of the American Indians, p. 154, seems to allude to this, and makes Senat's death to have been caused by Indian superstition. He says the English traders tried to save the victims. See p. 354 for his account of the Chickasaw War. This affair was a mere episode in this ill-managed campaign, which Charlevoix does not attempt here to chronicle. See Le Page du Pratz, iii., pp. 401-426. Journal de la Guerre du Micissippi contre les Chicachas en 1739 et finie en 1740 le 1er d'Avril par un Officier de l'Armée de M. de Nouaille. New York, 1859.

[2] Drouet de Richardville, whose three brothers were killed, by the help of the English traders, reached Georgia, where Oglethorpe paid his ransom and gave him a passport, by which he reached Montreal June 10, 1739. Bossu, ii., p. 109, says that Sergeant Louis Gamot was ransomed by the English and was at Charleston in 1750.

[3] D'Artaguette was shot down, and Vincennes was taken while endeavoring to carry him off. The Chick-

1736. shared the glory with him, and won the admiration of his very torturers.

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asaws burned 20 French on the day of the battle, including Father Senat, d'Artaguette, Vincennes, de Coulonges, de St. Ange, Jr., du Tisné, d'Esgly and de Tonty. De Courcelas, a Louisiana officer, was burned three days later. Récit du Sieur Drouet de Richerville, cited by Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 468. Vincennes has a monument in the post which he founded, and which was sometimes called St. Ange, from an officer who commanded there. From the latter term, apparently, came the name of Ange Gardien, given to the mission. Jouvency, Hist. Soc. Jesu, 233. Carayon, Documents Inédits, xv., p. 15. John Baptist Bissot, Sieur de Vincennes, officer in a detachment of the marine service, was the tenth child of Francis Bissot, and was born at Quebec in January, 1668. Louis Jolliet married his sister, Clara Frances. Vincennes in 1696 married at Montreal, Mary Margaret Forestier, and Tanguay, Dict. Généal., i., p. 56, gives the names of four children. The statement in some Western writers that his name was Morgan is unfounded.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

VOLUME I.

The Chronological Tables are all given in Charlevoix's own words without remark. Where they bear on the History of New France they are considered as they occur in the work.

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27, line 29, for Garcias read Gracias.

51, line 17, Champlain's discovery was in 1609.

105, note 1, add "History of the Gauls since the Deluge," 16°, Paris, 1552.

Note 2, the earliest reference, to Scalve are in Peter Martyr, 1516; Belleforest, 1570; Maginn and Wytfliet. Pontanus, p. 763, makes him sent out by Christian I. of Denmark.

Note 3. For Charles read Richard Biddle.

Note 4, add Ramusio, iii., p. 417.

106, note 1. The earliest printed reference to the Breton discoveries is in Gastaldo's Geografia di Ptolemeo, Venice, 1548, p. 56.

Note 3. The Memoires Chronologiques pour servir à l'Histoire de Dieppe, i., pp. 99–100, make Aubert and John Vérassen sail in 1508; discover, name and ascend the St. Lawrence. It is a work of little authority. The Chronicon of Eusebius, of which I have seen editions printed in 1511 and 1512, allude to these Indians in France. under the year 1508.

107, note 1, The Baron de Leri's voyage seems to rest on the authority of Lescarbot alone, who first mentions it in his second edition. He makes it eighty years before that of the Marquis de la Roche. But the date of the latter is uncertain, (see p. 244;) Bergeron, Traité de la Navigation, 1629; and De Laet, 1633, merely follow Lescarbot. The Hon. H. C. Murphy, whose collection is very rich, can find no allusion to de Leri's voyage in any work issued in the 16th century.

107, note 4. For Thevet, read Belleforest, L'Histoire Universelle du monde, Paris, 1570, col. 253, et seq.

111, notes 4 and 5 are transposed.

129, note 1. Omit to word patent, with my apologies to Mr. Parkman.

143, line 32, and 144, line 30, for "Joanas" read "Ionas."

148, note 2. Biard's Relation in the original edition has Laudouiére.

209, line 13. After "swimming" insert "except the Sieur de la Grange, who was drowned."

229, note 1. The Somme is either the St. Mary's or Saltillo. But the distance to the St. John's is much more than 12 miles. Is it credible that de Gourgues' cannon and the artillery of the second Spanish fort kept up a duel across the mouth of the St. John's, and that Indians swam it?

237, note 1. For "one year after Gourgues death," "read eleven years after de Gourgues' voyage."

245, margin for vogage read voyage.

Note 4. Chauvin sailed in May, 1599. Memoires de Dieppe, i., p. 311.

246, note 1. Chauvin sailed on his second voyage June, 1600, and left 20 men, who perished there, as death prevented his return. Memoires de Dieppe, i., p. 312.

246, note 3, Add "Now published under the care of Messrs. Laverdiere and Casgrain, Quebec, 1871." For the Commander de Chattes, see Memoires de Dieppe, i., pp. 236–314; his tomb has been recently discovered.

248, note 2. The name Arcadia appears on the map "Tierra Nuova" in "La Geografia di Claudio Ptolemeo by

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Iacopo Gastaldo," Venice, 1548, and in Porcacchi, Isole Famose, 1570.

249, note 1. Read Denys, i., pp. 58, 105, 126.

Note 2. Add "Charlevoix inverts the order; Novam Scotiam seu Acadiam totam;" see Jefferys' Conduite des François, p. 250, n.

Note 3. Charlevoix is in error. The name Nova Scotia occurs in no treaty prior to that of Utrecht. Mem. des Commissaires, iii., p. 126.

Note 4. "Wrested from France," can apply only to Argal's expedition. Conduite des François, p. 41, n.

250, line 2. For cites, read gives.

Line 7. Add: Note Mem. des Commiss, ii., p. 303.

8. Add: Note, Charlevoix's remarks on Acadia, were violently assailed by Jefferys, in his Conduct of the French, 1754; but were fully defended by Butel Dumont, in the notes to his translation of Jefferys. Conduite des Français, Londres, 1755, 12°. Jefferys was also answered by Grange de Chassieux: "La Conduite des François Justifiée." Utrecht, 1756.

252, note 1. Williamson, History of Maine, i., pp. 81, 188, is in error as to the place where Aubry was lost. He went ashore at St. Mary's Bay, before they got to Port Royal. Compare Lescarbot, 427–438; Parkman's Pioneers, 225.

253, note 4. Nvrvmberg appears in Gastaldo's Ptolemeo, 1548.

Note 7. Omit now Annapolis.

255, note 1. Add Denys, i., p. 41.

268, line 18. For "seal," read "dog-fish." *On* the ice is an error of Charlevoix, which I overlooked. Biard, Relation, p, 10, says *under*, Denys, i., p. 148, mentions the ponnamou. The Hon. J. H. Trumbull, who calls my attention to the passage, says it is the tom cod, morrhua pruinosa, the apŏnanmesŏ of Rale, (Dict. p. 510,) and the paponaumsu of Roger Williams.

275, line 27. John Alphonse makes the River of Norumbegua to be the Bay

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of Fundy. Laverdiere's Champlain, 1613.

277, line 10. The gasparot is the alewife, alosa tyrannus. Pereley's New Brunswick Report, 1852.

282, note 2. His epitaph is given in Historical Magazine, iii., pp. 49–50, but H. D. C, are the initials of my late friend, Henry de Courcy, who sent me the note, not part of the inscription as Murdoch supposes.

VOLUME II.

29, note 2. Champlain on his 1627 voyage, (Laverdière's ed., vi., p. 112, n.,) mentions the Ouentouoronons as allies of the Iroquois.

30, note 5. For the Indian name of Three Rivers, Métaberoutine, and its meaning, see Sulte, Histoire des Trois Rivières, p. 20. The first mass was said here July 26, 1615, and a settlement regularly begun in 1617, ib., pp. 35, 38.

44 note 2. Add: Henry Kirke in his First English Conquest of Canada, though he claims the Kirkes to be of English birth, admits that their father, Gervase Kirke, son of Thurston Kirke, of Greenhill, Derbyshire, England, (according to the funeral certificate he cites,) lived nearly forty years at Dieppe, where about 1596 he married Elizabeth Goudin, who bore him David, 1597; Louis, 1599; Thomas, 1603; John, 1606; James, 1616; Elizabeth, who married in Dieppe, and Mary, born 1619; David was knighted by Charles I. in Scotland, July 16, 1633, and, with others, obtained a grant of Newfoundland, Nov. 13, 1637, ib., p. 161. He held it till dispossessed by Cromwell, and died at Ferryland, 1655-6, ib., p. 184; Thomas was killed in 1642, soon after the battle of Edgehill. Lewis was knighted for his services by Charles I., and after the Restoration was made Captain and Paymaster of the Corps of gentlemen at arms, ib., 172–3.

46, note 2. Add: The French King is said to have declared David Kirke and his brothers public enemies,

and to have burnt them in effigy. Kirke's First Conquest, 66–7, citing Colonial Papers, v., no. 37, 49, vi., no. 12.

47, note 2. Add : Kirke in his First Conquest, says July 9 ; but the work is too confused to be of any authority. He makes David fight de Caen before the surrender of Quebec, which he dates Aug. 9.

58, note 1. Add : Charles I. by commission of March 5, 1630, ordered an inquiry as to the goods taken by Capt. David Kirke. First Conquest, pp. 84–5. Kirke resisted, and urged King to retain Quebec, p. 87. This author, p. 88, pretends that the French King promised to pay Kirke £20,000, which seems utterly improbable.

63. Charles I, June 12, 1632, appointed Sir William Alexander, Robert Charlton and William Berkeley commissioners to receive the forts from Capt. Lewis Kirke, and deliver them up to the French. Kirke, p. 89.

64, note 1, line 8, omit 1657.

100, note 5. For the Hotel Dieu of Dieppe, see Memoires de Dieppe, iii., pp. 90–106. Their rule was approved by Archbishop de Harlay, January 3, 1630, and by the Pope, July 7, 1664.

102, note 1. For the Ursulines of Dieppe, see Memoires de Dieppe, ii., p. 132.

126, line 24. For de Manse, read Manse.

Note 4. See concessions in Dollier de Casson, Histoire de Montreal, appendix, pp. 243–250. He makes Maisonneuve arrive the 20, p. 31.

128, note 3. Add : For the Iroquet, see Sulte, Histoire des Trois Rivieres, pp. 11, 18.

146, note. At foot of col. 1, omit from "as to," to "Hunter," and in col. 2, "Father Jognes," to "Dutch," and "and may be," to "E. Canada Creek." For "Greenhalgh describes it," read "Greenhalgh describes Tionondogue." As it stands the note confounds Tionondorogue (Fort Hunter,) with Tionontogue. See both mentioned N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., pp. 81–2. Tionontogue could not have been far from Canajoharie. Brodhead, in his valuable History of New York, vol. ii., p. 129, thinks it was not far from Fort Plain or Palatine. It was burned by de Tracy, removed a quarter of a league further, again removed in 1689, and again burned in 1693.

169. The Relation, 1643, gives the name Tabouret, where Charlevoix has Sabouet ; has Margonne, instead of Margonet, Bordier instead of Verdier. In the list of the Hundred Associates in Du Creux, there is neither Tabouret nor Sabouet, and no Caset, but it has a John Verdier, and a James Bordier.

205, note 2. D'Aillebout died May 31st. 1660. Viger in Dollier de Casson, p. 152.

216, note 2. See, however Sulte, Histoire des Trois Rivières, p. 94; which seems to make it John Godefroy de Linctot as stated by Charlevoix, p. 247, n. He was of Caux in Normandy, came to Canada about 1616 with his brother Thomas, and was one of the founders of Three Rivers. By his wife, Mary Le Neuf de Herisson, he had a large family. He died before 1681. Five of his children were killed and his brother burnt by theIndians. Sulte, pp. 89, &c.

244, note 3. See Lauson's nomination. Dollier de Casson, Appendix p. 265

247, note 2. See addenda to note on p. 216 ; If Charlevoix is right in regard to John Godefroy de Linctot, he errs in making Margaret, wife of James Hertel de Cournoyer, his daughter; she was his granddaughter. Sulte, p. 93. Tanguay, Dict. Gen., i., 274.

251, note 1, line 6. For "governor of" read "commandant at."

258, note 2. Add "He was known among the English as Smit's Jan. Brodhead's New York, ii., p. 116 n."

274, note 2. Insert a period after "lay brother" and read "Garreau was."

275, note 2. Add: "Parish Register of Montreal cited in Dollier de Casson, Appendix, pp. 229–230."

VOLUME III.

34, note, col. 1, line 22. Dollier de Casson, pp. 142, 231, gives the date May 26th, or 27th.

40, note 5. Add: F. Peter Bailloquet born 1616. belonged to the Province of Aquitaine, arrived June 25th, 1647. died in Canada June 7th, 1692.

55, note 3. Add : Dollier de, p. 201.

65, note 5. Add : Montreal was transferred to the Seminary of St. Sulpice, March 9th, 1663. Dollier de Casson, p. 173.

72, note 3. Add : Brodhead, ii., pp. 1–36; Cartwright reduced Fort Orange and made a treaty with the Mohawks and Senecas, ib.; p. 46.

73, note 1. Add : Brodhead's New York ii., pp. 205–8.

82, note 4. Add: Fort Richelieu had been left untenanted and was burned by Iroquois in the winter of 1646–7. Dollier de Casson, p. 62.

83, note 1. Add : The map gives the name Saurel, which is also his autograph.

87, note 3. Add: This officer's name is settled by Tanguay, Dict. Généal., pp. 103, 444, to be Louis de Cauchy, Sieur de Lerolle.

89, note 1. Add : A delegation from Albany demanded why he invaded English territory. Brodhead, ii., p. 103.

90, note 1. Fort St. Anne, on Isle la Motte was built by Capt Pierre, Sieur de la Mothe. Dollier de Casson, Appendix, pp. 238, 255. It was the first white post within the limits of Vermont. St. Anne's day, July 26th, 1666, is doubtless the day of its commencement. See Miss Hemenway's Vermont. Histor. Gazetteer, II., p. 558, &c.

96, note 1. For Ontario read Erie and add: It was published in 1869 by the Montreal Historical Society, with the notes of the late Commander Viger.

98, note 4. Brodhead, ii., p. 127 ; represents Thos. Exton in the privateer Cedar as having captured and burned Forts St. Mary and Du Coudray in Acadia in 1667, but there is no French allusion to it, nor do I find any such forts; they were probably posts of Le Borgne's sons; see N. Y. Hist. Coll. 1869, p. 50–1. Acadia was in the hands of England till July 21–3, 1667, when it was restored to France by the treaty of Breda.

109, note 1. For "Verborem" read "Verborum," line 2, col. 4, dele "Fort Hunter."

110, note 1. See Bishop Laval's instructions. Dollier de Casson, p. 260.

120, note 3. After "given by.' read "the French to the tribe whom the Algonquins styled Winnebagoes."

123, note 2. line 6. For "governor" read "commandant." On Maisonneuve's retirement and the temporary commandants in his absence, including Capt. La Mothe, 1669–70. and Perrot subsequently, see Dollier de Casson, pp. 235–239.

139, line 1, supply "surrender."

140, note 5. Guy's settlement was in 1609.

140, note 6. Add : After Lord Baltimore left Newfoundland, Sir David Kirke with others obtained in 1637, a grant of the island, and he took up his residence at Ferryland, see Ante p. 131, n.

164, note 2, omit "the" before Abbé.

175, note 2. Add : see Brodhead's ii., p. 181, n.

176, note 2. Add : See Brodhead's New York, ii., pp. 238–240.

181, note, col. 1, line 3, for Pekitanoni read Pekitanoui.

189, note, col. 2, line 5, supply date 1854.

196, note. Two letters of Frontenac to Andros and one to Brockholts Nov. 18, 1677, Jan. 8, and April 30, 1678.) are in the N.Y. MSS. (English) at Albany. See O'Callaghan's Calendar, ii., pp. 62, 65, 67.

198, note col 2. line 21, for "could" read "would."

208, note 2. Parkman's discovery of the Great West, pp. 173, &c., gives the details of this journey of La Salle. He went up the Illinois and struck across to the mouth of the St. Joseph's on Lake Michigan ; struck across to the Huron and descended it to the Detroit, crossing and striking Lake Erie near Point Pelée, whence he made his way in a canoe to Niagara, and finally reached Fort Frontenac May 7th, after 65 days' toil.

211. De La Barre calls Chambly, Governor of Martinique, N. Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 122.

212, note 4. Add: The place of F. Ribourde's death must have been about fifteen miles above Starved Rock. Parkman's Discovery, p. 216.

216, note 2, col. 2, line 8 After "next" add: "with the Dutch commander, Abraham Krynssen. Brodhead, ii., p. 126."

274, note 1. See Brodhead, ii., p. 475.

281, note 2, read: Enjalran.

284, note 3. Add : See license to Abel Marion de la Fontaine, April 1st, 1685. N. Y. Eng. Mss. xxiii., p. 106. O'Callaghan's Calendar, p. 136.

285, note 4. For New Irondequois read "now Irondequoit."

286. Add to note 1. In the Register of Quebec, Oct. 16th, 1691, appears Armand Louis de Delorndarce de la Honton, Baron de la Honton et Herlèche, Knight of the order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Captain of a detachment of Marine. (Tanguay, Dict. Généal., p. 338.)

287, note, col. 2, read: "Particulier."

292, note 1, read: "Relations."

294, note 2. See Brodhead, ii., p. 510.

298, note 2, for (of) read (N. S.)

VOLUME IV.

12, line 21. For "Seneca" read "Oneida," and in note for Tsonnonthouan read "Onneyouth." For "Hungry Bay" read "Salmon River."

13, note 1. Brodhead, ii., p. 520, note, also rejects La Hontan's account.

15, note 3, for iii., p. 568; read 571, and add to note: See Brodhead, ii., pp. 510, 520, 522.

20, note 1. Add: These memoirs were probably modified by the state of affairs. Brodhead, ii., p. 520.

68, note 3. Add: "According to most recent writers; but see post, p. 82."

82, note 2. For further discussion of this subject see Historical Magazine, Series II., vol. iv., p. 308. For Alonzo de Pes read Alonzo de Leon.

126, note 1. Add: See Brodhead, ii., p. 607; and N. Y. Hist. Coll. 1869, pp. 162-176.

137, note 2, read "hundred."

141. The Chev. Peter d'Aux, Sieur de Joliet, whose account of his adventures is not now known, was born in 1666. and was a captain of a company detached from the marine service. He did not long survive his Indian captivity and New England imprisonment, dying at Montreal, and being buried in the Recollect Church, April 10th, 1694, Tanguay, i., p. 158.

Line 9, for Provot read Prévot. Tanguay, Dict. Généal., p. 500, gives Provost.

152, note 1. See Vie du P. Chaumonot, p. 93.

154, note 4. Add: Phipps' Journal of Proceedings, says they entered Port Royal River, Friday, May 9, O. S. at 6, P. M.

155, note 1. Add : His fleet comprised the Six Friends ; the Porcupine, Capt. Cyprian Southack ; the sloop Mary, Capt. John Alden ; Mary Ann, Capt. Gregory Sugars ; Bachelour, Capt. John Welch, manned by 286 men, and carrying a regiment of foot soldiers numbering 450. Journal, pp. 5, 15.

155, note. Vie du Père Chaumonot, p. 86.

156, note 1. Phipps' Journal, pp. 5-6, says that Petit agreed to surrender the Governor and Priest to come on board, which they performed at the time prefixed : that on the 11th they took possession, the Governor and officers surrendered their swords ; the soldiers were guarded to the church, where they were kept as prisoners. He has not a word about terms, though his summons to Menneval ends, "you shall not find me failing in one tittle of my promise."

157, note 1. Phipps is very explicit. "May 12, morning. We cut down the cross, rifled the church, pulled down the high altar, breaking their Images," Journal, p. 6. Chalmers, Political Annals in N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1868, pp. 53, 88, reproaches him with a violation of all civilized usage in thus treating a place appropriated to the worship of the Deity.

158, note, to §2. Phipps sent Alden to cruise for Perrot May 21, Journal, p. 7. He was directed also to treat with St. Castin and obtain English prisoners in exchange for his daughter, whom Phipps had seized, as well as try and persuade him to go to Boston, which Phipps reached May 30, ib., p. 8.

187. The demoiselle Lalande referred to is in all probability Elizabeth Perrin, wife of John Lalande. She spoke English, as her early life had been spent in New York, where she was baptized in Dongan's time by one of the English Jesuits whom he brought over. See Tanguay, Dictionnaire Généalogique, pp. 339, 493.

195, Charlevoix has been generally followed in giving the name Crisasy. Yet every document published by Dr. O'Callaghan, in the N. Y. Col. Doc. (vol. ix., pp. 307, 518, 556, &c.) has Crisafy; and de la Potherie, iii., p. 153, and iv., p. 29, Crizafi, and Crisafi. The Abbe Bois kindly sought out the burial entries. The Parish Register of Three Rivers is lost; but in the Index of Interments, he found "Anthony, Marquis de Crisaphée, noted as buried May 12, 1709." The Montreal Register he ascertained gives, March 1, 1696, the burial of the Chevalier Thomas de Crisafy, Knight of Malta. See Tanguay, Dict. Généalogique, i., p. 150, where he gives the name Crisafy. There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the error of the common form.

205, note 1. De la Potherie, i., p. 330.

217, note 7. Add: See examination of La Plante, Aug, 1, 1692, N. Y. Eng. MSS., vol. 38, p. 158.

233, note 3. Add: The narrative of James le Ber de St. Paul (Vie de Mlle le Ber, p. 313) says 300 Canadians, 100 soldiers 230 Indians, with Rev. Mr. Gay, of the Mountain Mission, as chaplain.

245, Add: For a curious account of perhaps the same woman, see Ursulines de Quebec, ii., pp. 149–151.

VOLUME V.

13, line 9, read "seconded." Page 37, line 7, for Freneuse, read Fremeuse.

45, line 24, read "Dugué."

84, note 1. For Vol. III., read soon to be reprinted.

94, note. 1. His body was removed Sept. 11th, 1796, after the burning of the Church of the Recollects, to the Cathedral, and deposited first in the Chapel of Our Lady of Pity, then in the Chapel of St. Anne, the principal chapel on the gospel side. Livre d'Annonces de Mgr Plessis, MS. the citation from which I owe to the Abbé Casgrain, who gives me also the statements of persons who witnessed the removals. See also Tanguay, Dict. Géné., p. 243.

120, note. John Baptist le Moyne de Bienville, 12th son of Charles le Moyne, was born at Montreal, Feb. 28, 1680. He became Post Captain in the navy in 1748, and died at Paris, March 7, 1768.

147. The burial entry has been found by the Abbé Tanguay, Dict. Gén., I., p. 543. Gaspar Soiaga, called the Rat, Chief of the Michilimakinac Hurons, was buried at Montreal, Aug. 3rd, 1701, aged 75.

156, note: Francis de Beauharnois was brother of Charles, subsequently Governor. He was Intendant General of the naval force in 1726, and died in 1746, aged 81, Daniel, ii., pp. 346–7.

199. Simon Peter Denys, Sieur de Bonaventure, Chevalier, Captain of a frigate, &c., was born June 22nd, 1659. son of Peter Denys, Sieur de le Ronde. Tanguay, Dict. Généal., I., pp. 180–1.

227. note 3. Omit 874.

238, note 2. Daniel is evidently wrong. This nobleman was Charles Henry d'Alogny, Marquis de la Grois, captain in the troops. Tanguay, Dict. Généal., I., pp. 153, 167.

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